THE BLACK PANTHER

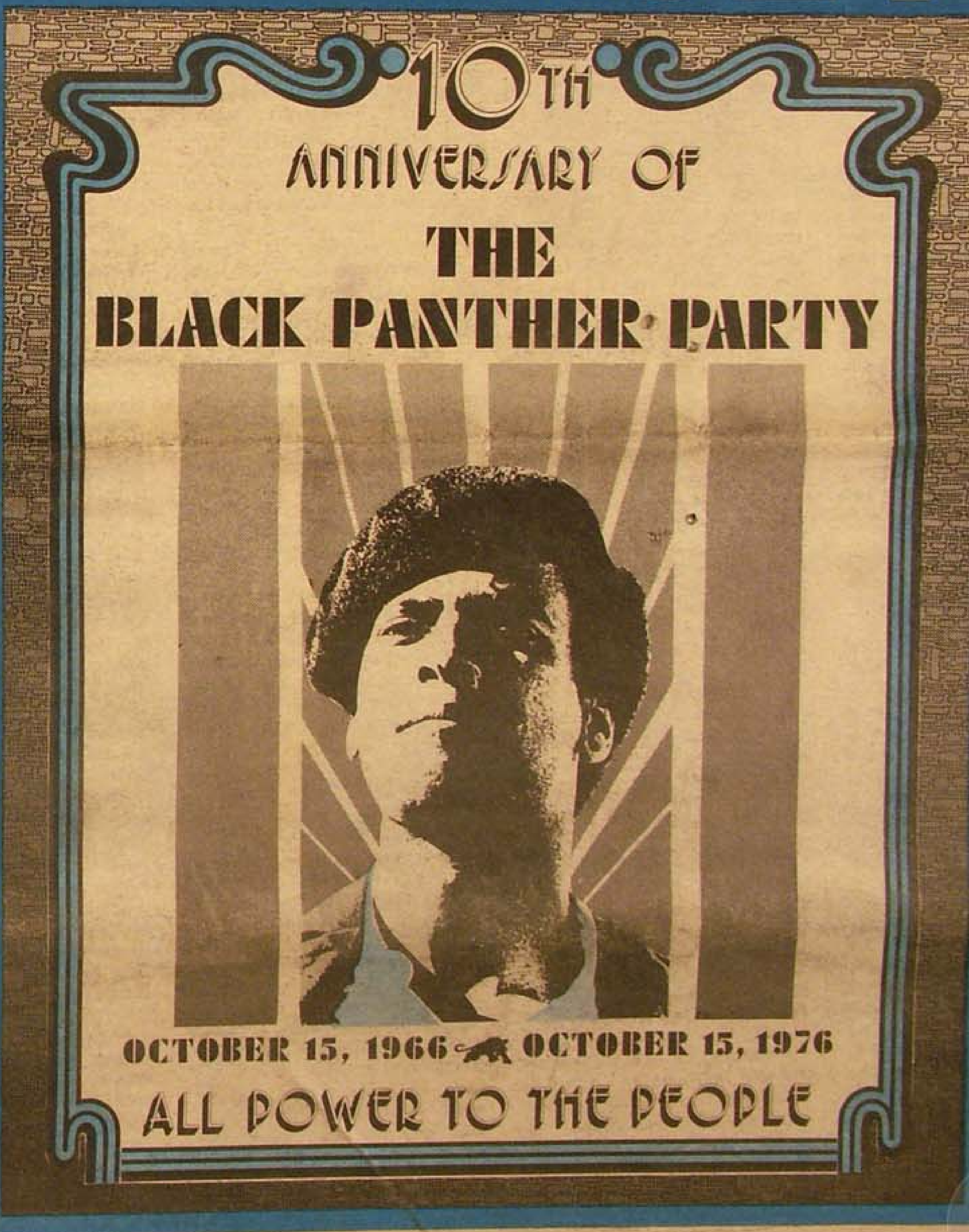
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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FREE HUEY!



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Editorial

WE CELEBRATE THE PEOPLE

Breakfast programs, guns, armed revolutionaries, free clinics, fiery rhetoric. Images of a Party, 10 years old now, an organization at once defined as racist and integrationist, left-wing and reformist, a political party and a band of armed guerrillas.

Seizing the history of oppression at one of its many nodal points, in the tradition of Nat Turner, of Malcolm X, of free men refusing to be chained, Huey P. Newton launched the Black Panther Party in October of 1966. There were others who came and followed, young men classified as scum of society, forgotten children, alienated and disenfranchised — some of whom History will remember in kind ways, some of whom History shall disdain or forget — to piece together the beginnings of a people's army, built upon love of their mothers, their fathers and sisters and friends who suffer so in life cycles of humiliation and degradation. A ragtag army of goodwill that dared *to challenge the fiber of oppression in a country built upon the* rough road of chattel slavery and exploitation paved over with democratic phraseology.

What is this Black Panther Party who took its name from a Southern voter registration project. Communist, anarchist, Marxist, Leninist, Maoist. Terms of political theorists who had yet to truly define the political monster of U.S. imperialism. A Party of Blacks who knew a tradition unheard of in History: enslaved without capture, bereft of native language and culture, snatched from native territory, miscegenated by force but never assimilated, abandoned to an industrial — now technological — world of aliens, without a home to which to return, whose new culture was oppression, who neither owned nor controlled one part of their lives or future; whose allies were enemies, those who had poured onto the shores of the New World in search of common ground to stand upon, lest they fall upon the shifting sands of old world decadence; and native people who knew well the barbarity of the Mayflower generation for their native cries of battle had been snuffed to a whimper and reserved in pockets of ignominity; and the strong children of the Boxer rebellion who were never believed human; the proud sons and daughters of Mexico "...who looked for work and money, who walked the ragged mile. . ."; all these, "the least of them," walking alone through the storm with heads bent not in supplication but in fear and oppression. Huey P. Newton, a man so proudly, innocently simplistic in his genius, not oppressed by the notion of a need for or possibility of a blueprint for revolution made either at the Winter Palace, or the Sierra Maestra, or during the Long March, living in the belly of the monster, knew, consciously knew, that new parties of people had to come forward, in our massive millions, to seize and break once and for all the chains that bound us to oppression and divided us from peace and dignity; knew that a country founded upon and fostered by war could not stand; and knew that the burden of knowing was to foster the change with one's own life.

There *was* the rub, the insult to the powerful who had, by now, *even sold their phraseology, in* the form of peaceful co-existence sponsored by Hertz Rent-A-Car and Pepsi-Cola, to the First Workers' State. In the ignorance of darkness, when all else had seemingly failed, the Black Panther Party made one loud cry and millions heard. In the early days, chapters and branches sprouted like the wings of an eagle — or a dove — throughout the United States, flying on the wings of the unconscious, powerful statements of Watts and Detroit. For while the Negro businessmen and others had seized small business loans out of the ashes, the masses were left with no more than a bitter memory and pacification dollars called poverty programs that would never, could never satiate the hunger for the freedom tasted. And they have killed our prince, Malcolm, and even the poor could recognize the difference between leather and plastic, the difference between the imposed leaders who poorly imitated Malcolm, ". . .full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." The Party flourished.

The singlemost dangerous threat to the internal security of the United States. Translation: they will spread the dangerous notion of freedom, of the power of the people who are the many over the few, of the notion of the right to live, to control one's life.

Front page headlines warning what the price would be not for reformist dissent but for being too serious about this whole business of freedom: Bobby Hutton — he was the beginning; Tommy Lewis, Steve Bartholomew and Robert Lawrence at once cut down by police in L.A. in 1968; Bunchy Carter, one of the first soldiers in this new army, and John Huggins; Fred Hampton and Mark Clark; Jake Winters and Frank Diggs and Sam Napier; even the man-child Jonathan; a planned and calculated assassination of the beautiful Field Marshal, of George Jackson. Millions of dollars in bails for false arrests. Hundreds of false arrests. Bombed the office in Kansas City; introduced the SWAT team to 11 young people in the Los Angeles office; destroyed and burned the clinic in Chicago — three times; stop the newspaper at all costs — burn it, hose it down, attack the distributors; propagandize always — that they indoctrinated "racist" coloring books. Work so that those millions of friends and lovers, that powerful now disjuncted army will never rise a mighty, single fist, once knowing the secret of their might.

10 YEARS

These have been the 10 years since the inception of the Black Panther Party. We were, we are dialectical materialist, revolutionary intercommunalists, but more, soldiers in a new army, that promotes the new American Revolution. A Party that fights still, daily to be simply a beacon, a broadcaster, a messenger who says we can and will win over death, oppression, indignities; that we, the working and poor people of this country, can rise up out of our ignorance and unleash the shackles; that we need not work for or beg from anyone; that together we are in a position of power, power to change the relationships of greed among human beings and create a new world out of all of it. It has been 10 years. There will be more. The founder and leader of our Party has been forced into exile. He will return. Our dedication, our purpose, our programs and platform exist for the people, all the people, to introduce this fundamental change or to die trying. We celebrate the people, then, on the 10th anniversary of our Party.□

COMMENT

On The Intercommunal Survival Committee

The following article was written recently by Charles (Slim) Coleman, coordinator of the Chicago Intercommunal Survival Committee (ISC), and has been widely distributed by the Mass Party Organizing Committee Bulletin.

The Intercommunal Survival Center (ISC) was formed in 1970 at the direction and with the guidance of the Black Panther Party, in Chicago, Illinois. Initially applying the tested methods of work of the BPP to the oppressed White community, the ISC was an attempt to bring some solutions to the problem you have called "dualism" in your literature: the situation developed from the dual role Black and Third World liberation movements have in this country as movements for self-determination in their own communities and as the unquestioned leadership of the entire movement for progressive change.

It was our belief that the problems in building a movement that respects and reflects this dual role can only be solved in practice as we take our Black and Third World-led movement for social justice and people's power deep into the oppressed White community. The people themselves have and will provide answers to questions that we have and, indeed, to questions we have not yet thought of.

To develop a strong base on principled lines we believe that there must be a dedicated cadre functioning through a well-organized structure that makes it possible to develop consistent literature to interpret events of the day, and operate what the BPP has called basic "Survival Programs" creating a lifeline to the community.

With the basic structure for our cadres established, including democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, a collective means of survival eliminating class differences, daily procedures for evaluation of practice

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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SUPPORT AFRICAN LIBERATION

3,000 Protest At Ford–Carter Debate

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Over 3,000 people turned out last Wednesday evening at a spirited demonstration here in opposition to the second Carter-Ford debate and in support of the liberation movements in southern Africa.

The rally, which featured Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown and Tirivari Kangai, the Bay Area representative for the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), was sponsored by the October 6th Coalition, a broadly-based ad hoc organization of local progressive groups and individuals united in their opposition to U.S. imperialist policies in southern Africa.

While across a duck-filled lagoon, at the Palace of Fine Arts, the Presidential candidates prepared their monologues of mayhem, the discontented and disenfranchised gathered in the plush



BPINS photo

Demonstrators march outside Ford-Carter debates.

Marina district, to, as Elaine Brown put it, "demonstrate that Ford and Carter cannot bring their asses into San Francisco without somebody saying something about it."

Indeed, widespread dissatisfaction with both the candidates and their policies was evident in the many issues the placard-carrying ralliers raised during the two-hour protest.

However, the central focus of the demonstration was unity, in support of the liberation of southern Africa.

"We know what John Kennedy did in Vietnam," Elaine said.

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"HUEY P. NEWTON INTENDS TO BE BACK WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR"

ELAINE BROWN RALLIES SUPPORT FOR B.P.P. LAWSUIT

(Berkeley, Calif.) — Speaking on the University of California at Berkeley campus last week, Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown announced that the Party's long-awaited lawsuit against the FBI and other police and federal agencies will be filed in Washington, D.C., at the end of this month.

Addressing a "Do More Than Vote" forum in the university's Boalt Hall Law School auditorium, Elaine also announced that Black Panther Party founder and leader Huey P. Newton is "alive and well" in Havana, Cuba, adding that "he intends to be back sometime within the next year, and will stand trial, if necessary.

CHARGES

"We don't think it (the trial) will be necessary because before he returns we'll be able to prove the charges against him are false," Elaine said.

The 34-year-old chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party was forced to leave the country in late 1974, as a result of increased threats upon his life and an intensified campaign of repression directed against him and the organization he founded.

Since his departure, an independent Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party has been formed "to create a climate in which people working for social change can function without constant fear of harassment, persecution or death." A recent Committee for Justice newsletter, *I Am We*, explained the threefold purpose of the soon-to-be filed lawsuit as:

•To redress the past wrongs suffered by the Party at the hands of federal and police agencies, whose tactics resulted in the deaths of 31 Party members — including Fred Hampton, Mark Clark, John Huggins and Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter — immeasurable human suffering and countless jailings and harassment;

•To expose and stop the continuing government harassment of the Black Panther Party and other groups; and

•To deter the government in the future from infringing on the Constitutional and human rights of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton, or other groups or individuals who seek to organize Black and poor people for social and political change.

Concerning the extensive cover-up of these charges, Elaine told the forum audience that:

"We have heard that the FBI

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BPINS photos

ELAINE BROWN (inset) addresses "Do More Than Vote" forum at the University of California (Berkeley) Boalt Hall auditorium.





500 Free Groceries For John George Campaign

(Oakland, Calif.) - Co-sponsored by the Black Panther Party Free Food Program, over 500 free full bags of groceries were given out at McClymonds High School in West Oakland last Saturday in support of the candidacy of local Black attorney John George for the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, Fifth District seat.

Lucky West Oaklanders also received free first aid kits, donated by the People's Free Medical Clinic, as well as materials related to the frontrunning John George campaign, which is poised for victory in the November 2 elections.

BPINS photos

WORD SPREAD LIKE WILDFIRE THROUGHOUT THE COMMUNITY

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL: A HISTORY OF SERVING THE YOUTH, BODY AND SOUL

(Oakland, Calif.) — *"I could see they were telling lies. . .They used to always put my friends. . . and me in 'special' classes and say we couldn't do anything. . .I didn't like what they were teaching me. . ."*

The personal testimony, above, given in 1971 by some of the first students of the Oakland Community School (OCS), poignantly reflected their unhappiness in the public schools of Oakland. Indeed, as 1971 began, it was becoming increasingly clearer to the Black Panther Party that the public schools of this city, and those across the country, were not providing Black and poor children with an adequate education — an education that would teach them their "true history and. . .role in the present-day society."

In order to establish a progressive educational program that poor and oppressed people could use as a model, in general, and specifically to save Black and poor children from the miseducation of the city's public schools, the Black Panther Party founded the OCS (then called the Huey P. Newton Intercommunal Youth Institute) in January, 1971. Black Panther Party founder and leader Huey P. Newton said concerning the creation of the OCS:

". . .The (Intercommunal Youth Institute's) primary task . . .is not so much to transmit a received doctrine from past experience as to provide the young with the ability and technical training that will make it possible for them to evaluate their heritage for themselves. . .

"Black and poor youth in this country have been offered a blurred vision of the future through unenlightened and racist educational institutions. The (Institute) is the realization of a dream, then, to repair disabled minds and the disenfranchised lives of this country's poor communities with as much knowledge possible and to provide them with the ability to interpret that knowledge with understanding. . ."



The children of the Oakland Community School (1971-1976).







BPINS photos

Then, as now, the School based its teaching concepts on basic skills necessary for survival in America — reading, writing and mathematics.

Operating in its early days in two houses in North Oakland, the OCS began with 25 students, children of Black Panther Party members, whose curriculum included Mathematics, English, History, Science and Field Trips. OCS staff began to teach students to learn *how* and not *what* to think. The public school system has systematically produced individuals who are totally incapable of thinking in an analytical way.

By the 1972-73 school year, the School (renamed the Samuel L. Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute following the assassination of the Black Panther Party's national circulation manager on April 17, 1971) was experiencing severe growing pains. Word of its model elementary level educational program for children ages 2½ to 11 was spreading like wildfire throughout the community.

Forty-two youth were enrolled in the School (by then called the Intercommunal Youth Institute) by mid-1973. The expanded curriculum included Language Arts, Mathematics, Political Education, Science, People's Art and

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THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

October 15, 1775

Gabriel Prosser, who was later to lead a famous yet unsuccessful slave insurrection in Richmond, Virginia, was born on October 15, 1775.

October 16-17, 1859

John Brown, a famous militant White antislavery advocate, attacked Harper's Ferry, Virginia, on October 16-17, 1859, with 13 White and five Black men in an unsuccessful attempt to obtain guns to be used in a widespread slave revolt.

October 16, 1901

Booker T. Washington dined in the White House with President Theodore Roosevelt on October 16, 1901, an act for which he was severely criticized by Black leaders.

October 11, 1939

On October 11, 1939, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund was incorporated as a separate organization. The organization was to go on to lead many struggles in defense of human and civil rights.

October 14, 1964

The great civil rights leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize on October 14, 1964.

October 16, 1968

Sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos (Smith set a world record of 19.8 seconds in the 200 meter dash while Carlos captured third place) gave their famed "Black power" salute at Mexico City Olympics on October 16, 1968, in a protest against racial injustice. Their protest embarrassed the United States. The U.S. Olympics Committee banned them from further Olympic competition.

October 11, 1972

Inmates at the District of Columbia (Washington, D.C.) jail who overpowered guards and seized ten hostages, were released upon immediate hearings on their problem before U.S. District Court Judge Albert C. Bryant on October 11,1972. Reprisals were taken against inmates who were involved.



BPINS photos

Speakers at last week's OCLC Community Forum (left to right), MARIA FILLIPE, LARRY TRAMUTT, and ELAINE BROWN urged solid support for Proposition 14, the farmworker initiative.

ELAINE BROWN, LARRY TRAMUTT, HIGHLIGHT O.C.L.C. COMMUNITY FORUM

BLACK COMMUNITY AND FARMWORKERS UNITE FOR "YES ON 14" CAMPAIGN

(Oakland, Calif.) — Loudly chanting, "Si, se puede! Si, se puede! (It is possible)" Oakland's Black community and the United Farm Workers (UFW) Union pledged last Sunday to jointly wage an intensive campaign to secure passage of Proposition 14, the farmworkers' initiative, on the November 2 ballot.

The pledge followed a rousing program held at the Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC) Sunday Community Forum where a large and enthusiastic crowd gathered to hear about the issues concerning Proposition 14. Keynote speeches were delivered by Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown and Larry Tramutt, director of the Northern California UFW, who spoke in place of Mack Lyons, a Black UFW Board member who was unable to be in Oakland because of an emergency Board meeting in Los Angeles.

Prior to Elaine's speech, singer/guitarist Rudy Juarez sang a medley of beautiful songs of the farmworkers' struggle and other well known songs in the Mexican-American community.

Elaine began her remarks by reminding the audience that "Black people were the original farmworkers in this country," adding, "If you've ever been a migrant worker and picked a few crops, then you know that this is not a Chicano issue. This is not a Latino issue.

"If you've picked a few beans in your life, then you know that farm work is hard work and that people are underpaid for doing it. That is the issue that we are talking about — the right of people to organize and to get the kinds of things they need as farmworkers in this country and in this state, in particular. That is the issue and no other issue.

"This is our cause. This is not the cause of the United Farm Workers. It is the cause of the Black community, the Chicano community, the Asian community and of people who are working every day in this country for nothing," Elaine emphasized.

Elaine concluded her comments by urging everyone present to ask 10 people to vote for Proposition 14 and then to ask those 10 to ask three or four others to support the farmworkers' initiative. Pointing out that farmworkers pick the food we eat, Elaine said, "I'm asking you to begin to wrest control of your lives, our lives. . .There are hundreds and hundreds of farmworkers whose very lives depend on this proposition and in turn our very lives depend on them."

Maria Fillipe, an UFW organizer, then translated Elaine's speech into Spanish for those members of the audience who did not speak English.

Larry Tramutt gave a brief history of the farmworkers' struggle in California, beginning with the Chinese in the 1800s, followed by the Japanese, the Filipinos and finally, Chicanos. Recalling that big growers have historically "beat down" efforts of farmworkers to organize themselves into unions, Tramutt warned:

DIFFICULT

"The campaign is going to be a very difficult one to win. The growers are not dumb. I think it is our biggest mistake to think that growers, their public relations firms and hatchet men are dumb. It's going to take a lot of hard work to get five million people to vote the right way."

Following Tramutt, UFW officials and organizers from the Watsonville area were introduced to the audience and gave brief remarks on the current situation on the farms where they work.□

N.A.A.C.P. Wins Extension In Mississippi Suit

(Oxford, Miss.) — Federal District Court Judge Orma Smith has extended to October 21 a preliminary order preventing 12 White Port Gibson, Mississippi, merchants from collecting a $1.2 million damage suit award from the NAACP.

NAACP lawyer David S. Tatel agrued that payment of the award to the merchants, who were targets of a NAACP-sponsored boycott in the 1960s, would cripple the civil rights organization's right to free speech and drive it into bankruptcy.

In August, a Mississippi judge found the NAACP and 128 individual defendants guilty of using a secondary boycott against the Port Gibson White merchants in order to enforce just demands for jobs and changes in local government. Under state laws, the NAACP was required to pay 25 per cent of the damages ($1.66 million) in order to appeal the case. The organization has now raised the appeal bond money after a nationwide drive and a last-minute $800,000 loan from the AFL-CIO.

Angry Black Protesters Denounce Butz Visit

Defender Proclaims: "I Know My Racists"

(Greenville, Miss.) — In his first public appearance since resigning from office, former Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz was greeted by angry Black protesters here who denounced him and the obscene racial slur which forced his resignation.

Butz, who came to this Mississippi Delta community last week to speak at a Republican fundraiser, was met at the airport by the Black protesters, who carried signs reading: "Go home, Earl Butz"; "Butz is a racist"; and "Earl Butz has new shoes." He later had to dodge more demonstrators by using the rear entrance of the motel where he stayed.

Butz had come under fire and eventually tearfully resigned from the Ford administration for saying that "colored" do not vote for Republican candidates because all they want is "tight pussy, loose shoes and a warm place to shit."

"OLD POLITICAL JOKE"

He reiterated last week that all he had done was to repeat an "old political joke."

"The remark I made," Butz told reporters in Greenwood, "was an illustration of the minority situation 50 years ago."

Earlier last week, Butz was praised by the only Black in a decision-making position in the Department of Agriculture.

Coming to Butz's defense, James Bostic, a deputy assistant secretary for rural development, claimed, "Earl Butz doesn't have a racist bone in his body.

"I know my racists," Bostic added.

Meanwhile, reports are circulating that Butz held secret meetings to advise the Agriculture Department's Cooperative Extension Service on ways to avoid hiring more Blacks.

In this regard, California Congressman Ronal Dellums commented, "Secretary Butz's attitudes were revealed not only in his insulting retelling of the racist 'joke,' but also in his personal failure to insure fair employment practices in the Department of Agriculture."□

DETROIT YOUTH WORKER REGAINS JOB—KILLER COP WINS BACK PAY

(Detroit, Mich.) - Widespread community support is credited for the recent reinstatement of Detroit city youth worker Stanley Black following his two-week suspension for criticizing Mayor Coleman Young's rehiring of 400 laid-off local police officers.

Black, a street worker for Detroit's Community Youth Services program, had called for the hiring of 400 community workers rather than the policemen to quell youth gang violence. The policemen were rehired after a disturbance at Cobo Hall following a rock concert.

The city's skyrocketing unemployment among Black youth has brought about a rise in gang violence, and there have been reports that police intelligence agents have been actively fostering this violence. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, August 28, 1976.)

As a street worker, Black has gained strong rapport with eastside Detroit gangs, and his supporters argued that if he was not rehired, it would be a great loss to the Black community.

Black, who was dismissed by his supervisor, Dick Humphries, because of his differences with Young's administration, told the *Detroit Sun*, "Had it not been for the support of many community people, I doubt I would have my job back today. This clearly shows that if people organize and struggle in unity on whatever problem they have, they will definitely prevail in the end."

COMMUNITY SUPPORT

Supporting Black were such eastside Detroit community organizations as the Detroit Youth Coalition, the Concerned Parents Committee, the Michigan Council of Churches, Operation Get Down, the Billy Holcomb Support Committee and others.

After a closed door meeting with these groups, Mayor Young, was forced to reinstate Black commenting, "There can be no conflict between the actions and policies of those working for the Community Youth Service program and the actions and policies of the administration because we're all working for the same team."

The city government, again using "gang violence" as a scapegoat, has suggested the reinstitution of the murderous STRESS (Stop The Robberies Enjoy Safe Streets) police program. Recently, STRESS killer cop Raymond Peterson was awarded two years of back pay as a result of an arbitration ruling.







Killer cop RAYMOND PETERSON (above). Detroit youth worker STANLEY BLACK (above right) and suspended Flint, Michigan, policewoman MADELINE FLETCHER.

Peterson, who was involved in 12 STRESS-related shootings, was acquitted in 1973 of second-degree murder charges for the shooting of Robert Hoyt. However, the STRESS cop was fired when it was found out that he planted his own knife on Hoyt and then lied about it.

The testimony of Sgt. Mary Jarett of the police crime laboratory proved that the knife found on Hoyt had been in Peterson's pocket. However, the testimony of psychiatrist Bruce Danto saved Peterson as Danto claimed that the STRESS cop's police work had put him in "a disassociated state."

The arbitration panel, which voted 2-1 in favor of Peterson, upheld his contention that his STRESS work had driven him to the point of acting irrationally. Besides receiving back pay, Peterson, who was known for being "trigger happy," may also receive a disability pension.

BLACK POLICEWOMAN

Meanwhile, in Flint, Michigan, Black policewoman Madeline Fletcher remains suspended for defending herself against an attack by her former White partner, Walter Kalberer. Ms. Fletcher, who was wounded by police gunfire from several White officers, was acquitted of assault charges against Kalberer two months ago.□

Howard Ay Gibbs Defense Committee Seeks Support

(Bordentown, New Jersey) - The Howard Ay Gibbs Defense Committee (HAGDC) has recently been formed here in support of a Black community activist now serving a maximum 80-year sentence at Trenton State Prison for the frame-up murder of a White man.

Howard Ay Gibbs was railroaded to prison because of his very heavy involvement in organizing against drug traffic in the Camden, New Jersey, Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Gibbs was convicted by an all-White jury. The HAGDC contends that nursing home loggers were forged and trial transcripts and statements rewritten. Gibbs preliminary court hearing transcript and his trial transcript were destroyed while in the court's possession, one by an allegedly "faulty court recording machine" and the other "by fire and water. Gibbs' appeal has been denied.

The HAGDC is demanding Gibbs' immediate release and is badly in need of funds to continue their support activities. The Committee is asking all interested individuals and organizations to contact: The Howard Ay Gibbs Defense Committee, 319 Borden Street, Bordentown, New Jersey 08505, (609) 298-3524.□

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Community News Shutdown

(New York, N.Y.) - Cutbacks in funding by the Ford Foundation forced Community News Service (CNS), a Harlem-based organization of minority group journalists, to go out of business last week. For seven years, CNS provided local newspapers and television stations with news of New York City's Black and Hispanic communities. Ms. Annette Samuels, CNS executive editor, blamed the agency's shutdown on the mistaken attitude that there is no longer a need for community-based minority reporters.

Black Babies Victims

(Houston, Tex.) - The health of many Black babies — for whom the death rate is already nearly twice the national average — is in jeopardy because of mothers' poor eating habits during pregnancy, according to a leading Black nutritionist. Interviewed on a radio talk show here recently, Mrs. Vera Thompson, the director of Nutrition Services for the Detroit, Michigan, Department of Health, said that good eating habits "must start the moment a woman becomes pregnant" and that "women who eat low-nutrition, high-caloried foods instead of healthful fruits and vegetables, are risking giving birth to poor-health babies."

Bay Area Housing Bias

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Housing discrimination in the Bay Area is "not disappearing — it's becoming more subtle," a housing expert told the state Fair Employment Practice Commission at public hearings here last week. One subtle method of housing discrimination is the practice of "redlining," a term referring to the circling in red on bankers' maps of Black and minority neighborhoods, where it is difficult or impossible to obtain real estate loans.

King, Kennedy Murders

(Washington, D.C.) - Richard Sprague, the prosecutor who convicted United Mine Workers (UMW) president W.A. (Tony) Boyle in the murder of Joseph Yablonski, has promised that "no document" or "no witness" will be beyond the reach of his investigation into the murders of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and President John F. Kennedy.

Prop.T: S.F. To Vote On District Elections

(San Francisco, Calif.) — A coalition of grassroots neighborhood and community groups and labor here is organizing support for passage of Proposition T, a measure to replace the at-large election of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors with district elections, on the November 2 ballot.

Over 600 people from all over the city have been actively involved in the Proposition T campaign. Earlier this year, this same force gathered over twice as many signatures as were needed to put the measure on the ballot.

Proposition T divides San Francisco into 11 districts with each district having one seat on the Board of Supervisors.

The districts were drawn up at neighborhood hearings last spring, with over 500 people representing 130 community organizations participating.

According to Al Bowice, of La Raza an Accion, "At the very heart of district elections rests the firm belief that the people of San Francisco know better how to manage their affairs than the present aloof and special interest-dominated majority on the Board today."

BLACK AND POOR

Under the district election plan, Black and poor candidates who can't afford to run a city-wide election will be able to campaign from their own neighborhoods.

The city of San Francisco has a population in which minorities comprise over 45 per cent of the total, yet no member of a minority has ever been elected to the Board. The Board's only two minority members have been appointed by a mayor to fill a vacant seat.

In a 1973 election, a proposition calling for district elections was defeated two to one due to active opposition from the Board of Supervisors, labor and former Mayor Joseph Alioto's coalition of banks, downtown corporations and building trades unions. However, due to the recent antilabor moves by the present Board of Supervisors, labor has now come out in support of district elections.

The underrepresentation of minorities is a basic issue in the Proposition T campaign. Through the district drawn up by the campaign, in five of the proposed 11 districts a single racial minority or a combination of minority groupings would constitute a majority of the population.□

3,700 MOSTLY LOW-INCOME UNITS AT ISSUE IN NOVEMBER ELECTIONS

MEASURES P,Q, AND R: SUPPORT GROWS FOR KEY HOUSING BALLOT PROPOSALS

(Oakland, Calif.) - A growing movement is forming here to secure the passage of three vitally-needed, housing measures on the November 2 election ballot.

Voter affirmation of Measures P, Q and R — which involve the construction of a total of 3,700 units — not only allows the city to proceed with its city-wide housing program, but also provides the green light for the long-delayed Grove-Shafter Freeway and the frequently threatened City Center Project.

As they will appear on the November ballot, the measures are:

•Measure (P). *Should public entities be authorized to develop, construct or acquire no more than 600 units of rental housing for low-income persons in the City of Oakland through the use of financing provided by state, federal or private sources, or by tax increments, for the following projects:*

Not more than 300 units for Grove-Shafter Replacement Housing, and not more than 300 units for City Center Replacement Housing?

The words "replacement housing" are the key to Measure P, since the city is under legal obligations to provide units as substitutes for homes and apartments destroyed as a result of the freeway and City Center construction.


BPINS photo

Measures P, Q and R will approve funds to replace dilapidated housing in West Oakland, vacated years ago in anticipation of the Grove-Shafter Freeway.

In the first instance, that of the Grove-Shafter Freeway, a suit filed long ago by several community activists was settled in February of this year with the California Department of Transportation agreeing to contribute $5 million toward the construction of 400 (now 300) construction units.

This housing would consist of: 40 units of rent supplement housing in a federally-financed elderly housing project; 160 units of rehabilitated single-family units in East Oakland; 100 units of new elderly housing in West Oakland; 100 units of rehabilitated housing in West Oakland.

In the second instance, regarding the City Center Project, the Redevelopment Agency must, under state and federal law, provide replacement housing for units demolished.

Passage of Measure P relates directly to the recent successful efforts, — led by Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown, OCCUR Executive Director Paul Cobb, Alameda County supervisorial candidate John George, Judge Lionel Wilson, Oakland Black Caucus activist Elijah Turner, and others — to update the Grove-Shafter (which links the City Center to the suburban market) construction from 1981 to 1978, and thus ensure an estimated 10,000 permanent jobs which will result from increased economic growth of the downtown area.

CITY TAX RATE

Measure P will not increase nor decrease the city tax rate and, interestingly, no argument was filed against it in the city ballot guidebook.

•Measure (Q). *Should public entities be authorized to develop, construct, or acquire no more than 1,850 units of rental housing for low-income persons in the City of Oakland through the use of financing provided by the California Housing Finance Agency for the following projects:*

Not more than 850 units for privately sponsored California Housing Finance Agency projects and not more than 1,000 units for the State's neighborhood preservation program?

The 1,850 units of rental housing which Measure Q authorizes would be financed

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

Federal Agencies Neglect Poor

(Washington, D.C.) — A two-year Congressional investigation has concluded that the major defect of nine federal regulatory agencies assigned to service poor people is their commitment "to the special interests of regulated industry and lack of sufficient concern for the underrepresented interests" of the public.

The House subcommittee's two year study focused on the nine regulatory agencies that come under its jurisdiction, which make up only a small part of the total federal regulatory system.

The massive 700-page report points to the finding that the nonelected government is controlled by a small but powerful elite of industrialists. Over 50 per cent of the Nixon and Ford administrations' appointments to regulatory agencies during the last five years were people who had previously been employed by the regulated industry, the report charges.



Slum housing victims.

Among the subcommittee's broad recommendations were proposals to "add new mechanics of effective public participation to offset the dominance of the regulated industry in agency proceedings; increasing the independence of regulatory agencies from executive branch dominance; and increasing the openness of agency proceedings to facilitate public participation."□



The "Scottsboro Boys" were falsely accused of raping two White girls in 1931. Their plight drew worldwide attention.

64-YEAR-OLD WILLIE NORRIS "TIRED OF BEING A FUGITIVE"

FRAMED "SCOTTSBORO BOY" SEEKS PARDON

(New York, N.Y.) - *"I was tired of being a fugitive. I want to clear the record."*

Clarence (Willie) Norris, sole survivor of the nine "Scottsboro Boys," who were falsely arrested and convicted of rape in what became the cause celebre of the 1930s, has applied for a full pardon from the state of Alabama.

Now a 64-year-old warehouseman for the city of New York, Norris spent 15 years in prison — five of them on death row — on never-proven charges that he was one of nine Black youths who had raped two White girls on a freight train outside Scottsboro, Tennessee, on May 25, 1931.

Born the second of eight children to a cotton sharecropping family in Warm Springs, Georgia, Norris went to Atlanta at age 13 to look for work.

At 19, he was one of more than 200,000 Black and White men and women "riding the rails" in search of work during the Depression.

He said that he rode a freight to Chattanooga and then took another bound for Memphis. During the ride, he said, he saw a fight between Black and White youths in one of the flatcars, and he pitched in to help the Blacks. The Whites either jumped or were pushed from the train near the town of Stevenson. Some 42 miles away at Paint Rock, the train was stopped by the county sheriff and several deputized White men.

Nine Black youths, from 13 to 20, one White youth and two girls dressed in men's clothing were taken from the freight train. The girls said each of the Black youths had raped them.

"I never saw the girls until they took them off the train, at Paint Rock," Norris said.

The nine Black men were tied together with a length of plowline and taken 20 miles down the rail line to Scottsboro. News of the alleged rape spread quickly, and the state militia was called out to maintain order.

In a series of trials which received front page attention throughout the world, the Black youths were convicted three times by racist White jurors, only to have the convictions overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court. An Alabama judge reversed one conviction, saying there was "absolutely no evidence" to prove the youths guilty.

One of the White women, Ruby Bates, recanted her accusations in 1933, saying that no rape had taken place.

Then, in what was termed the "Compromise of 1937," Alabama dropped the charges against four of the defendants and sentenced the other five to death or long prison terms.

Norris, who, was paroled in 1944 on the condition that he work for 40 cents an hour under a racist employer at a Montgomery lumber yard, soon fled to New York. He returned to Alabama after a few months — "to stay inside the law" — and served two more years in jail.

He immediately fled the state again upon his release in 1946. He faces rearrest in Alabama as a parole violator.

Although support for the pardon has been building, including that of Alabama's attorney general, the chairman of the Alabama Parole Board maintains that Norris can never be considered for a pardon "as long as he remains a fugitive from justice."

Norris, who married in 1961 and has two daughters, Debra, 21, and Ardell, 16, has no current plans to surrender to the Alabama Parole Board.

"I'm tired of this thing hanging over me," Norris said. "Fifteen years is more than long enough to suffer in prison for something I didn't do, and then suffer all these years thinking I might be arrested as a fugitive.

"I was tired of it."□

MEMORIAL RALLY



ON NOVEMBER 7, 1976
TYRONE GUYTON
WOULD HAVE BEEN
18-YEARS-OLD

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1:30 p.m.– 5:00 p.m.
AT THE
OAKLAND COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTER
6118 E. 14TH STREET

SPEAKERS (PARTIAL LIST)

- **Mrs. Mattie Shepherd** — MOTHER OF TYRONE GUYTON
- **John George** — CANDIDATE, ALAMEDA COUNTY BD. OF SUPERVISORS
- **Rev. Michael Dunn** — ELMHURST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
- **Elaine Brown** — CHAIRPERSON, BLACK PANTHER PARTY
- **Alphonso Galloway** — EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NAACP
- **Thomas Broome** — CHARLES HOUSTON LAW CLUB
- **Andrea Benavidez** — SISTER OF JOSE BARLOW BENAVIDEZ

Mob "Hit Man" Charges C.I.A. Killed Hoffa

(Washington, D.C.) — A professional mob "hit man" has charged that former Teamster boss Jimmy Hoffa was assassinated on orders of the CIA because of his knowledge of the Mafia's involvement in the unsuccessful plot to murder Cuban Premier Fidel Castro in the early 1960s.

Charles "Chuckie" Crimaldi, a one-time Chicago assassin for the mob, says in his forthcoming autobiography, *Crimaldi, Contract Killer*, that Hoffa was murdered and then his body dumped into a junkyard car, which was crushed and smelted.

GIANCANA

"The same man that killed Momo (late Chicago mob leader Sam Giancana) took care of Hoffa for the same reason: He knew about the Castro plots," Crimaldi maintains. Hoffa has been missing for over a year.

Giancana was shot six times in the head last year, just five days before he was scheduled to testify before a Senate committee investigating CIA assassination plots. Several weeks later, Hoffa disappeared.

Now living in obscurity with a secret identity provided by federal drug enforcement authorities, Crimaldi works as a plumber, a trade he learned in prison, and maintains contact with a few old underworld friends. However, his gangland enemies are said to have placed a $50,000 price on his head.

In *Crimaldi, Contract Killer*, a meeting in Chicago in the 1960s is described between Giancana and late loan shark Sam De Stefano, Crimaldi's boss. In explaining to DeStefano about the "hit" on Castro, Giancana is quoted by Crimaldi as saying: "I was tapped by some guys from the CIA. I was promised special government consideration for a lot of aggravation that was coming my way."

According to Crimaldi, Giancana then outlined the CIA's plan to murder Castro.

In July, the body of mob leader John Rosselli was found stuffed in an oil drum in Biscayne Bay off the Florida coast. The 71-year-old gangster testified before a Senate committee in 1975 concerning his role in two attempts in 1960 and 1961 to assassinate Premier Castro.□

STATEMENT: MAY 1, 1971

By Huey P. Newton

The original vision of the Black Panther Party was to serve the needs of the oppressed people in our communities and defend them against their oppressors. When the Party was initiated we knew that these goals would raise the consciousness of the people and motivate them to move more firmly for their total liberation.

We also recognized that we live in a country which has become one of the most repressive governments in the world; repressive in communities all over the world. We did not expect such a repressive government to stand idly by while the Black Panther Party went forward to the goal of serving the people. We expected repression.

We knew, as a revolutionary vanguard, repression would be the reaction of our oppressors, but we recognized that the task of the revolutionist is difficult and life is short. We were prepared then, as we are now, to give our all in the interest of oppressed people. We expected the repression to come from outside forces which have long held our communities in subjection. However, the ideology of dialectical materialism helped us to understand that the contradictions surrounding the Party would create a force that would move us toward our goals.

CONTRADICTIONS

We also expected contradictions within the Party, for the oppressors use infiltrators and provocateurs to help them reach their evil ends. Even when the contradictions come from formerly loyal members of the Party, we see them as part of the process of development rather than in the negative terms the oppressors' media use to interpret them. Above all, we knew that through it all the Party would survive.

The Party would survive because it had the love and support of the people who saw their true interests expressed in the actions of the Party. The Party would also survive because it would be a political vehicle which continued to voice the interests of the people and serve as their advocates.

The importance of a structured political vehicle has always been apparent to us. When we went to Sacramento, we went for the purpose of educating the people and building of a permanent political vehicle to serve their true interests. In our most recent communication with both the North and South Vietnamese Revolutionary governments, they pointed out that they understood what we were doing and saw it as the correct strategy. They said that a "structured organization is related to politics as a shadow to a man."

We recognize that the political machine in America has consistently required Black people to support it through paying taxes and fighting in wars, but that same machine consistently refuses to serve the interests of the Black community. One of the problems is that the community does not have a structured organization or vehicle which serves its needs and represents the people's interest. You can no more have effective politics without a structured organization than you can have a man without his shadow.

Oppressed Black people — *the lumpenproletariat* — did not have a structured organization to represent their true interests until the Black Panther Party arose from within the community, motivated by the needs and conditions of the people.

Across the country there have been coalitions of Black people and Black caucuses, but these have not served the people as political vehicles. They have merely served as bourgeois structures to get Black candidates



into political office. Once elected, the machinery used to thrust these people into office simply passed out of existence or became ineffective insofar as serving the true interests of the Black oppresed people.

A truly revolutionary vehicle which will survive the repression it encounters daily is made up of a number of characteristics. First of all, there is a small but dedicated *cadre of workers who are willing to devote their full time to the goals of the organization.* Secondly, there is a distinct organized structure through which the cadre can function. It is this combination of structure and dedicated cadre which can maintain the machinery for meeting the people's needs. In this way a printing press can be maintained to review the events of the day and interpret them in a manner which serves the people. Information can be circulated about daily phenomena to inform the people of their true meaning. Programs of service can be carried out to deliver to the people the basic needs that are not met elsewhere because the lumpenproletariat are the victims of oppression and exploitation.

A cadre and a structure, however, are not what make the political vehicle a revolutionary one. It is the revolutionary concepts which define and interpret phenomena, and establisn the goals toward which the political vehicle will work. A revolutionary vehicle is in fact a revolutionary concept set into motion by a dedicated cadre through a particular organized structure.

Such a vehicle can survive repression because it can move in the necessary manner at the appropriate time. It can go underground if the conditions require, and it can rise up again. But it will always be motivated by love and dedication to the interests of the oppressed communities. Therefore the people will insure its survival, for only in that survival are their needs serviced. The structural and organized vehicle will guarantee the weathering of the test of internal and external contradictions.

POLITICAL VEHICLE

The responsibility of such a political vehicle is clear. It is to function as a machine which serves the true interests of the oppresed people. This means that it must be ever aware of the needs of the communities of the oppressed and develop and execute the necessary programs to meet those needs. The Black Panther Party has done this through its basic Ten-Point Program. However, we recognize that *revolution is a process and we cannot offer the people conclusions* — we must be ready to respond creatively to new conditions and new understandings.

Therefore, we have developed our Free Breakfast Program, our Free Health Clinics, our Clothing and Shoe Programs, and our Buses to Prisons Program as well as others, responding to the obvious needs of Black people. The overwhelmingly favorable response to these programs in every community is evidence that they are serving the true interests of the people.

Serving the true interests of the people also means that the political vehicle must stand between the people and the oppressive forces which prey upon them in such a manner that the administrators will have to give the appropriate response. Such articulation requires us to have a political organ which will express the interests of the people and interpret phenomena for them. Again, the existence of such a political vehicle is justified only so long as it serves the true interests of the people.

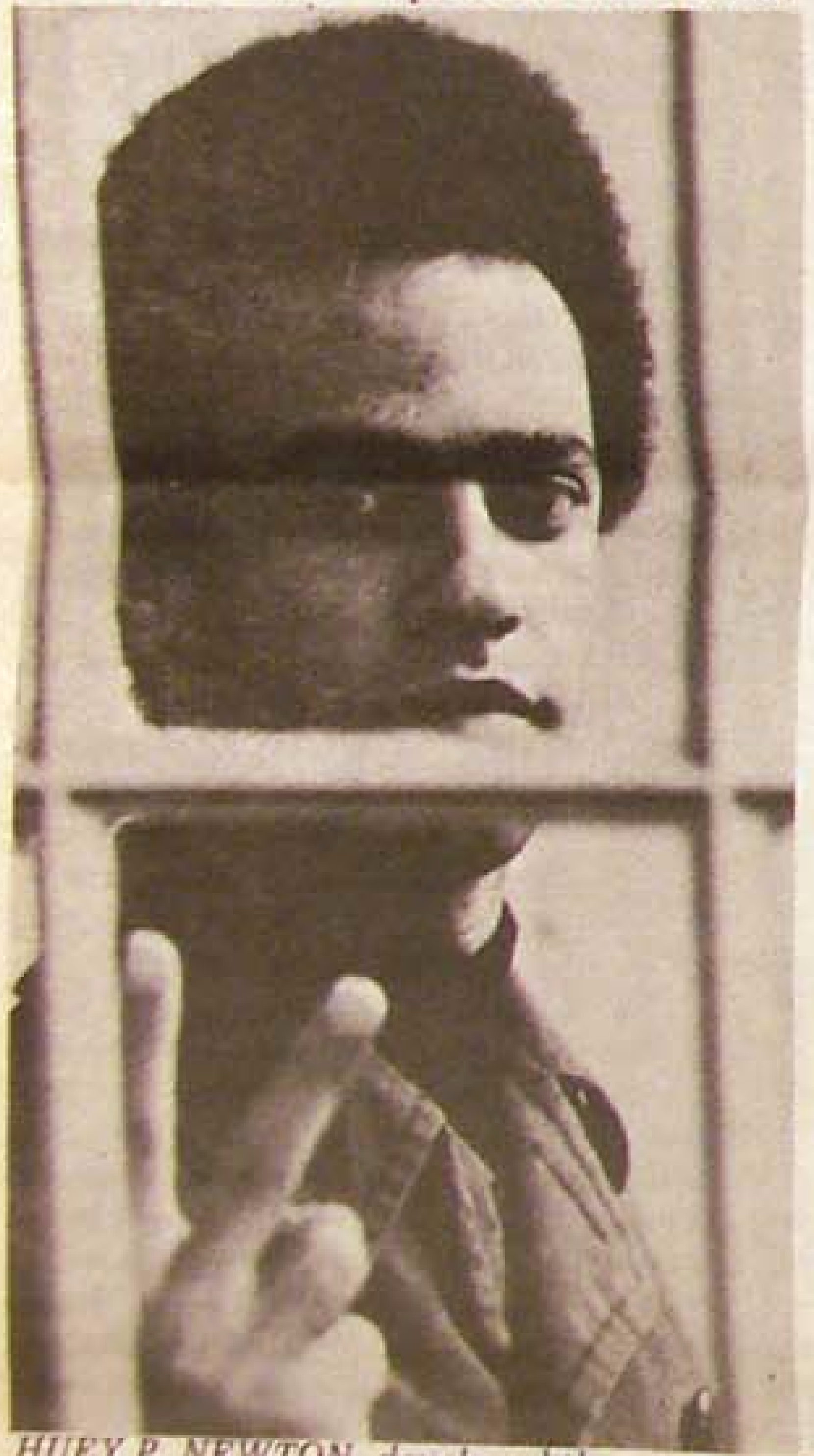
Serving the true interests of the people,

CONTINUED ON F

A Manifesto

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE:

For twenty-two months in the California Men's Colony at San Luis Obispo, after my first trial for the death of Patrolman John Frey, I was almost continually in solitary confinement. There, in a four-by-six cell, except for books and papers relating to my case, I was allowed no reading material. Despite the rigid enforcement of this rule, inmates sometimes slipped magazines under my door when the guards were not looking. One that reached me was the May, 1970, issue of *Ebony* magazine. It contained an article written by Lacy Banko summarizing the work of Dr. Herbert Hendin, who had done a comparative study on suicide among Black people in the major American cities. Dr. Hendin found that the suicide rate among Black men between the ages of nineteen and thirty-five had doubled in the past ten to fifteen years, surpassing the rate for Whites in the same age range. The article had — and still has — a profound effect on me.



HUEY P. NEWTON developed the concept of revolutionary suicide during his incarceration at California Men's Colony (San Luis Obispo).

I have thought long and hard about its implications.

The *Ebony* article brought to mind Durkheim's classic study *Suicide*, a book I had read earlier while studying sociology at Oakland City College. To Durkheim all types of suicide are related to social conditions. He maintains that the primary cause of suicide is not individual temperament but forces in the social environment. In other words, suicide is caused primarily by external factors, not internal ones. As I thought about the conditions of Black people and about Dr. Hendin's study, I began to develop Durkheim's analysis and apply it to the Black experience in the United States. This eventually led to the concept of "revolutionary suicide."

To understand revolutionary suicide it is first necessary to have an idea of reactionary suicide, for the two are very different. Dr. Hendin was describing reactionary suicide: the reaction of a man who takes his own life in response to social conditions that overwhelm him and condemn him to helplessness. The young Black men in his study had been deprived of human dignity, crushed by oppressive forces, and denied their right to live as proud and free human beings.

A section of Dotoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* provides a good analogy. One of the characters, Marmeladov, a very poor man, argues that poverty is not a vice. In poverty, he says, a man can attain the innate nobility of soul that is not possible in beggary; for while society may drive the poor man out with a stick, the beggar will be swept out with a broom. Why? Because the beggar is totally demeaned, his dignity lost. Finally, bereft of self-respect, immobilized by fear and despair, he sinks into self-murder. This is reactionary suicide.

Connected to reactionary suicide, although even more painful and degrading, is a spiritual death that has been the experience of millions of Black people in the United States. This death is found everywhere today in the Black community. Its victims have ceased to fight the forms of oppression that drink their blood. The common attitude has long been: What's the use? If a man rises up against a power as great as the United States, he will not survive. Believing this, many Blacks have been driven to a death of the spirit rather than of the flesh, lapsing into lives of quiet desperation. Yet all the while, in the heart of every Black, there is the hope that life will somehow change in the future.

ASSAULT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT

I do not think that life will change for the better without an assault on the Establishment, which goes on exploiting the wretched of the earth. This belief lies at the heart of the concept of revolutionary suicide. Thus it is better to oppose the forces that would drive me to self-murder than to endure them. Although I risk the likelihood of death, there is at least the possibility, if not the probability, of changing intolerable conditions. This possibility is important, because much in human existence is based upon hope without any real understanding of the odds. Indeed, we are all — Black and White alike — ill in the same way, mortally ill. But before we die, how shall we live? I say with hope and dignity; and if premature death is the result, that death has a meaning reactionary suicide can never have. It is the price of self-respect.

Revolutionary suicide does not mean that I and my comrades have a death wish; it means just the opposite. We have such a strong desire to live with hope and human dignity that existence without them is impossible. When reactionary forces crush us, we must move against these forces, even at the risk of death. We will have to be driven out with a stick.

Che Guevara said that to a revolutionary death is the reality and victory the dream.



Fallen Comrade JONATHAN JACKSON made the supreme sacrifice of his life in an heroic bid for freedom on August 7, 1970.

Because the revolutionary lives so dangerously, his survival is a miracle. Bakunin, who spoke for the most militant wing of the First International, made a similar statement in his Revolutionary Catechism. To him, the first lesson a revolutionary must learn is that he is a doomed man. Unless he understands this, he does not grasp the essential meaning of his life.

When Fidel Castro and his small band were in Mexico preparing for the Cuban Revolution, many of the comrades had little understanding of Bakunin's rule. A few hours before they set sail, Fidel went from man to man asking who should be notified in case of death. Only then did the deadly seriousness of the revolution hit home. Their struggle was no longer romantic. The scene had been exciting and animated but when the simple, overwhelming question of death arose everyone fell silent.

Many so-called revolutionaries in this country, Black and White, are not prepared to accept this reality. The Black Panthers are not suicidal; neither do we romanticize the consequences of revolution in our life time. Other so-called revolutionaries cling to an illusion that they might have their revolution and die of old age. That cannot be.

I do not expect to live through our revolution, and most serious comrades probably share my realism. Therefore, the expression "Revolution in our lifetime" means something different to me than it does to other people who use it. I think the revolution will grow in my lifetime, but I do not expect to enjoy its fruits. That would be a contradiction. The reality will be grimmer.

I have no doubt that the revolution will triumph. The people of the world will prevail, seize power, seize the means of production, wipe out racism, capitalism, reactionary intercommunalism — reactionary suicide. The people will win a new world. Yet when I think of individuals in the revolution, I cannot predict their survival. Revolutionaries must accept this fact, especially the Black revolutionaries in America, whose lives are in constant danger from the evils of a colonial society. Considering how we must live, it is not hard to accept the concept of revolutionary suicide. In this we are different from White radicals. They are not faced with genocide.

THE WAY OF LIBERATION



HUEY P. NEWTON upon his release from prison on August 5, 1970.

The greater, more immediate problem is the survival of the entire world. If the world does not change, all its people will be threatened by the greed, exploitation, and violence of the power structure in the American empire. The handwriting is on the wall. The United States is jeopardizing its own existence and the existence of all humanity. If Americans knew the disasters that lay ahead, they would transform this society tomorrow for their own preservation. The Black Panther Party is in the vanguard of the revolution that seeks to relieve this country of its crushing burden of guilt. We are determined to establish true equality and the means for creative work.

Some see our struggle as a symbol of the trend toward suicide among Blacks. Scholars and academics, in particular, have been quick to make this accusation. They fail to perceive differences. Jumping off a bridge is not the same as moving to wipe out the overwhelming force of an oppressive army. When scholars call our actions suicidal, they should be logically consistent and describe all historical revolutionary movements in the same way. Thus the American colonists, the French of the late eighteenth century, the Russians of 1917, the Jews of Warsaw, the Cubans, the NLF, the North Vietnamese — any people who struggle against a brutal and powerful force — are suicidal. Also, if the Black Panthers symbolize the suicidal trend among Blacks, then the whole Third World is suicidal, because the Third World fully intends to resist and overcome the ruling class of the United States. If scholars wish to carry their analysis further, they must come to terms with that four-fifths of the world which is bent on wiping out the power of the empire. In those terms the Third World would be transformed from suicidal to homicidal, although homicide is the unlawful taking of life, and the Third World is involved only in defense. Is the coin then turned? Is the government of the United States suicidal? I think so.

With this redefinition, the term "revolutionary suicide" is not as simplistic as it might seem initially. In coining the phrase, I took two knowns and combined them to make an unknown, a neoteric phrase in which the word "revolutionary" transforms the word "suicide" into an idea that has different dimensions and meanings, applicable to a new and complex situation.

My prison experience is a good example of revolutionary suicide in action, for prison is a microcosm of the outside world. From the beginning of my sentence I defied the authorities by refusing to cooperate; as a result I was confined to "lock-up," a solitary cell. As the months passed and I remained steadfast, they came to regard my behavior as suicidal. I was told that I would crack and break under the strain. I did not break, nor did I retreat from my position. I grew strong.

If I had submitted to their exploitation, done their will, it would have killed my spirit and condemned me to a living death. To cooperate in prison meant reactionary suicide to me. While solitary confinement can be physically and mentally destructive, my actions were taken with an understanding of the risk. I had to suffer through a certain situation; by doing so, my resistance told them that I rejected all they stood for. Even though my struggle might have harmed my health, even killed me, I looked upon it as a way of raising the consciousness of the other inmates, as a contribution to the ongoing revolution. Only resistance can destroy the pressures that cause reactionary suicide.

The concept of revolutionary suicide is not defeatist or fatalistic. On the contrary, it conveys an awareness of reality in combination with the possibility of hope — reality because the revolutionary must always be prepared to face death, and hope because it symbolized a resolute determination to bring about change. Above all, it demands that the revolutionary see his death and his life as one piece. Chairman Mao says that death comes to all of us, but it varies in its significance: to die for the reactionary is lighter than a feather; to die for the revolution is heavier than Mount Tai. □

I AM WE

There is an old African saying, "I am we." If you met an African in ancient times and asked him who he was, he would reply, "I am we." This is revolutionary suicide: I, we, all of us are the one and the multitude.

So many of my comrades are gone now. Some tight partners, crime partners, and brothers off the block are begging on the street. Others are in asylum, penitentiary, or grave. They are all suicides of one kind or another who had the sensitivity and tragic imagination to see the oppression. Some overcame; they are the revolutionary suicides. Others were reactionary suicides who either overestimated or underestimated the enemy, but in any case were powerless to change their conception of the oppressor.

The difference lies in hope and desire. By hoping and desiring, the revolutionary suicide chooses life; he is, in the words of Nietszche, "an arrow of longing for another shore." Both suicides despise tyranny, but the revolutionary is both a great despiser and a great adorer who longs for another shore. The reactionary suicide must learn, as his brother the revolutionary has learned, that the desert is not a circle. It is a spiral. When we have passed through the desert, nothing will be the same.

You cannot bare your throat to the murderer. As George Jackson said, you must defend yourself and take the dragon position as in karate and make the front kick and the back kick when you are surrounded. You do not beg because your enemy comes with the butcher knife in one hand and the hatchet in the other. "He will not become a Buddhist overnight."

The Preacher said that the wise man and the fool have the same end; they go to the grave as a dog. Who sends us to the grave? The unknowable, the force that dictates to all classes, all territories, all ideologies; he is death, the Big Boss. An ambitious man seeks to dethrone the Big Boss, to free himself, to control when and how he will go to the grave.

There is another illuminating story of the wise man and the fool, found in Mao's Little Red Book: A foolish old man went to North Mountain and began to dig; a wise old man passed by and said, "Why do you dig, foolish old man? Do you not know that you cannot move the mountain with a little shovel?" But the foolish old man answered resolutely, "While the mountain cannot get any higher, it will get lower with each shovelful. When I pass on, my sons and his sons and his son's sons will go on making the mountain lower. Why can't we move the mountain? And the foolish old man kept digging, and the generations that followed after him, and the wise old man looked on in disgust. But the resoluteness and the spirit of the generations that followed the foolish old man touched God's heart, and God sent two angels who put the mountain on their backs and moved the mountain.

This is the story Mao told. When he spoke of God he meant the six hundred million who had helped him to move imperialism and bourgeois thinking, the two great mountains.

The reactionary suicide is "wise," and the revolutionary suicide is a "fool," a fool for the revolution in the way that Paul meant when he spoke of being "a fool for Christ." That foolishness can move the mountain of oppression; it is our great leap and our commitment to the dead and the unborn.

We will touch God's heart; we will touch the people's heart, and together we will move the mountain. □

ANALYZING THE CORRECT MET

The following article, a taped commentary by George Lester Jackson, was first played in public at the funeral of the late Black Panther Party Field Marshal, who was assassinated by his oppressors on August 21, 1971. The thoughts and ideas expressed reveal but a glimpse of the awesome scope and brilliance of this towering author/revolutionary, a man whose will to freedom and liberation defied the mortal chains which bound him, inspiring a human outcry terrifying to the tyrants who sought to slay his legend: GEORGE JACKSON LIVES!

The co-optation thing is a mechanism of the American brand of fascism. We have to understand that first.

In essence, how it works is that with each group, each social unit larger than two, the powers-that-be will approach the element that's guiding that social unit, and attempt in some way to co-opt it. There are a thousand ways of approaching: playing on loyalties; or, the money thing, the money syndrome, we've had that trained into us from infancy; or they'll attempt to show us the futility of our actions; and then perhaps, if that doesn't work, they'll explain to us how actually our goals are the same as theirs and that they're not such bad guys after all.

But, it's worked. It's worked in the past. You've heard the stories, the tales about White America and the establishment not being able to deal with Black nationalism. Well, they have been. They've built foundations, you know, the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and so forth. They bought them off.

How do we stop those things from happening? As far as I'm concerned our dialectic, our intentions, our goals are so mutually exclusive to those of our opposition, that I can't see anything we can find anything to agree on. We have to stop it right from the beginning.

In other words, no acceptance of tokens, none whatsoever, in the building of the People's world. We do it on our own. We do it with our own facilities. And to say that we can't do it, to say that we don't have the personnel, that we don't have the financial means, is just like saying that producers can't produce, that breadmakers can't make bread.

We don't need them. That's the whole point. So we stop them by barring them completely from our program.

We can't limit ourselves to any one particular form of struggle; but I'm saying that the people who are given the responsibility of deciding which facilities that we'll take and use for our own — for the building of the infrastructure for our own — I think that these people should use extreme caution and always bear in mind that the underlying motive is tokenism, and at all times be cynical. Take, yes; but, take it in the spirit of reparations, and reparations only.

We have a very, very, very touchy, fundamental problem, and, I think it begins with the ideal. I don't think we fully understand the period or stage that we're in right now, the stage of the struggle that we're in right now.

The ideal situation, where each man can be a man, can be an individual — and I don't mean in the existentialist sense — where each man can be truly free, to make decisions on his own. Make decisions on his own, and from his own mind — we haven't reached that point yet; it might be 2,000 years before we reach that point. Right now, at the present, to think that that thing is possible is verging on anarchy.

I seriously feel that the problem lies in the fact that we don't understand what Democratic Centralism means, and its function and its power, and its power to all of our movement. I really seriously, don't believe that anything can be accomplished without Democratic Centralism at this stage, because we've inherited things from thousands and thousands of years ago into our character, into our beings. In particular, we've inherited things over the last 300 years of capitalism and over the last decades of fascism, corporativism.

We've inherited things that disallow us from, let's say, egalitarian conduct. I think we have to recognize that, and understand that our movement has to be carried by, guided by disciplined and sincere, but organized, Democratic Centralism.

Power, in its essence, has a growth process, just like everything else. If we snatch that thing up out of its process and look at it as it WAS, we're looking at a thing that's dead. It's a thing in process, just like everything else. It goes through a state of infancy, maturity and then, of course, decline.

The prestige of power at its maturity is a thing that will prevent people from acting against that power. This pig is a psychological thing, a state of being wherein the bourgeoisie reign of terror need not rely on violence to sustain itself. It's relying on something that happened in the past, or some accomplishment, or some, let's say, coup, that went down in the past, where it secured itself. And it's drifting at this point, the prestige of power means that it's drifting at this point and living off its laurels.

At this stage, people just are not inclined to attack that power. So, consequently, our first attack is on the prestige of power. That was



HODS OF COMBATTING FASCISM

Jonathan's job, to destroy the prestige of power, the iconoclastic act of crushing symbols. Once these symbols are crushed, and people see that they are vulnerable, then we can move on to the actual destruction of the bases of power. Because power, after, after the destruction of the prestige of power, power will be forced to revert back to its original force, raw brute force — violence.

First of all, I'd like to clear up a couple of points in that area that have come up, criticisms of my particular analysis of fascism. I would like to state unequivocally that complete totalitarianism, the perfect totalitarian state is impossible. We had 6,000 years of hierarchy; we've had 6,000 years of attempts, of men making attempts to place themselves above society. It's never worked; it's never worked. So, in essence, pure fascism, pure totalitarianism is impossible, first of all.

Then I'd like to emphasize that fascism right from the beginning — and when I say beginning — I'm going all the way back to the point where monopoly capital first started its formation — the culmination of monopoly capital was the fascist corporative. It took different forms in different countries; and those different forms were principally accountable to the differing national situations, the differing crises that the particular nations were facing; and, of course, the difference in time and place in history.

Important in the understanding of fascism, I believe, is not to confuse the different dimensions of the movement.

We firstly concede that it is a movement, a thing, like I said, at the opening of monopoly capital. It's obvious that once monopoly capital started forming, old bourgeoisie democracy began to die, in process. As monopoly capital took over political rule, the political rule of, let's term it, bourgeoisie democracy started diminishing. And at the end of that process, like I said, the culmination of that process, was almost total centralization.

So it's not a question of coup, it's not a question of a certain uprising of a small political economic ascendancy destroying the old bourgeoisie, democratic rule — that rule was being destroyed in process right from the inception of monopoly capital.

I think it's important to understand that the men who assimilated themselves are fascists, the fascist man, who assimilated himself upon the society, the character who pictured himself or projected himself as being eventually that cat mechanating at the center and above society, he knew all along what he was doing.

In the first stage, the first dimension, he emphasized the decadence of laissez-faire capitalism; he emphasized the decadence, I suppose, the death of bourgeoisie democracy. He emphasized that.

Now, that's the first face, the first dimension right there. The second dimension would come after they've seized power, but were yet insecure. That's the spectacular stage that we see on T.V., that we see in the movies, where doors are kicked down and people are being machine-gunned down and people are being herded off to camps — like here in this country, put in jails — the Communist Party banned, and forced to write into their constitution a statement that went like this, "Anyone who advocates the violent overthrow of the United States is subject to expulsion from the Party." That's the second, spectacular stage.

But the third stage is the stage wherein fascism is a secured thing, corporativism. Can anyone look around the United States and say that this is not a corporative state? With the old guard, the point they attempt to use to persuade us that fascism is not a mature fascism in this country yet is a very simplistic idea, that FDR (Franklin D. Roosevelt) and the New Deal and the thing during the war were actually an attempt to create a welfare state. Nothing could be more ridiculous.

RIDICULOUS

Can you believe the United States would today encompass a welfare state. Nothing could be more ridiculous. FDR was a fascist. Roosevelt was a fascist. And the thing that went down during the '30s and '40s was not just similar, but it was exactly the same thing that went down in Italy, Rumania, Spain, Germany, or Argentina, Brazil. It's the same thing.

They first attempted to close the economy and use the surplus capital of accumulation to work out problems that should have been worked out long ago right here in the United States; that's the essence of the whole closed economy idea. Expansion, at that point, wasn't working anymore; it wasn't possible because the various Western nations, or advanced industrial states, had expanded to the point where expansion was no longer possible. So they closed their economy and started such projects as the electrification of a railroad in Italy, remember; and the draining of marshes, remember. And then of course (you don't remember, but you've read it), in Germany, rearmament was the thing. In the United States, we had T.V.A. (Tennessee Valley Authority), remember — you know, they built the big dam over the Tennessee River and put people to work, make work.

Once secure and in power — in the United States that point was reached during the McCarthy era — once secure and in power, it was possible for them then to allow some dissent. It was possible then for them to have a C.P. (Communist Party), just so long as the C.P. didn't have any teeth; it was possible, then, for them to allow us to form what appeared to be an opposition party.

But, now, to make my point very clear, a real opposition party did come into existence. The BPP, Black Panther Party.

What happened?

What happened — they reverted back to the second stage, back to the second dimension. They were kicking doors in and killing people. It's pretty obvious, it's pretty obvious that a mature fascism exists in this country, and it exists in disguise. The disguise takes the form of all those idiotic, ridiculous statements about a welfare state.

On top of all this, we have to consider a couple of very, very important points in allowing these men who mechanate at the center and above society to perpetrate their violence. Really, we've done nothing to deserve the violence. I sincerely believe, I stand on the principle, on the fact that stopping them, and stopping them now, rather than stopping them over the next 50 to 75 years, will save more lives, will save more destruction of minds and of property and of innocent people, human potential.

That's just what happened during World War II. Socialist consciousness was building to the point where it had to be distracted, so they offered foreign war, and it appealed to loyal instinct, patriotic instinct, to divert the people from their real interests.

It's easy to understand that in protecting the state, we're protecting the right of the people who own and run the state to continue to own and run the state. It comes right down to protecting hierarchy.

In the event of violent, people's war, we're building an infrastructure, the separating of the people's world from the government, from the enemy state. If the corporative powers, the fascist powers saw this thing happening, it's very possible that they would start a war with someone else, and try to appeal to our loyalty instincts.

But that will no longer work. Socialist consciousness all around the world has grown now to the point whereas ideas like that are no longer, it's no longer possible to foist ideas like that on people. I believe the socialiist consciousness has grown to the point where we won't go for it a second time. We can see that right now. I think we have something like 30,000 draft resisters right here in San Francisco. Correct? And there's nothing the government can do about it. Nothing whatsoever.

The power of the establishment, the power of the hierarchy depends upon us. They can't do the things that they're doing without some consent from us, some consent. That consent can be extracted with brutality; it can be extracted with propaganda, brands of agit-prop; it can be extracted through appealing to short-term interests, but I don't think it will work this time. We have powerful forces working on our side that won't let it happen again.

Well, one other thing. My reading of the revolutionary literature of Che, Giap, Huey, Angela — I like to mention them and Jonathan — they envision a world where it adds up.

Our principal concern, their principal concern, our really principal concern right now is with the living and the present. But we do have ideas of the way things should be, and principal among those ideas is that terrorism from any quarter should be acknowledged. And, as long as we have to have administrators those administrators should be chosen from the people, should have distinguished themselves in some way for the people. They're not administering people; they're not administering our lives, really; actually what they're doing is, as far as I'm concerned, they should be administering things — they can see the big picture, as an individual, and make the ideal feasible, so it will hang together.

I would say that each one of the positions should be dependent upon meritorious conduct of duty, and they'd have to be replaceable.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

QUOTATIONS FROM COMRADE GEORGE

"But nothing could mitigate the pain of confinement. Try to remember how you felt at the most depressing moment of your life, the moment of your deepest dejection. That is how I feel all the time. No matter what level my consciousness may be, alseep, awake, in between. The thing is here and it keeps me moving, pins my eye to the ball, uptight, twenty-four hours a day."

"Born to a premature death, a menial, subsistence — wage worker, odd-job man, the cleaner, the caught, the man under hatches, without bail — that's me, the colonial victim. Anyone who can pass the civil service examination today can kill me tomorrow. Anyone who passed the civil service examination yesterday can kill me today with complete immunity. I've lived with repression every moment of my life, a repression so formidable that any movement on my part can only bring relief, the respite of a small victory or the release of death. In every sense of the term, in every sense that's real. I'm a slave to, and of, property."

"We must accept the eventuality of bringing the U.S.A. to its knees; accept the closing off of critical sections of the city with barbed wire, armored pig carriers criss-crossing the streets, soldiers everywhere, tommy guns pointing at stomach level, smoke curling black against the daylight sky, the smell of cordite, house-to-house searches, doors being kicked in, the commonness of death."

"At the end of this massive collective struggle, we will uncover our new man, the unpredictable culmination of the revolutionary process. He will be better equipped to wage the real struggle, the permanent struggle after the revolution — the one for new relationships between men."

"If I leave here alive, I'll leave nothing behind. They'll never count me among the broken men, but I can't say that I'm normal either. I've been hungry too long, I've gone angry too often. I've been lied to and insulted too many times. They've pushed me over the



line from which there can be no retreat. I know that they will not be satisfied until they've pushed me out of existence altogether. I've been the victim of so many racist attacks that I could never relax again. . .I can still smile now, after ten years of blocking knife thrusts, and the pick handles of faceless sadistic pigs, of anticipating and reacting for ten years, seven of them in solitary. I can still smile sometimes, but by the time this thing is over I may not be a nice person. And I just lit my seventy-seventh cigarette of this twenty-one-hour day. I'm going to lay down for two or three hours, perhaps I'll sleep. . ."

"The revolutionary is outlawed. The Black revolutionary 'is a doomed man'. All of the forces of counterrevolution stack up over his head. He's standing in the tank-trap he has dug. He lives in the cross-hairs. No one can understand the feeling but himself. 'From the beginning' of his revolutionary consciousness he must use every device to stay alive. Violence is a forced issue. It's incumbent on him. The very first political programs have had to be defended with duels to the death. The Children's Breakfast Programs haven't been spared. The next round of commune building could cause the third great war of the century."

"Hurl me into the next existence, the descent into hell won't turn me. I'll crawl back to dog his trail forever. They won't defeat my revenge, never, never. I'm part of a righteous people who anger slowly, but rage undamned. We'll gather at his door in such a number that the rumbling of our feet will make the earth tremble."

"Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the realityof our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution. Pass on the torch. Join us, give up your life for the people."

STATEMENT: MAY 1, 1971

CONTINUED FROM A

however, does not mean that the vehicle is simply a reflector of public opinion, for the opinions of the people have often been molded and directed against their true interests by slick politicians and exploitative educators. Their diversion tactics often lead the people down blind alleys or onto tangents which take them away from their true goals. We can easily see this when we apply the concept of American democracy to the Black community.

Democracy in America (bourgeois democracy) means nothing more than the domination of the majority over the minority. That is why Black people can cast votes all year long but if the majority is against us, we suffer. Then the politicians and educators try to deceive the community with statements such as "It's rule by the majority, but the rights of the minority are protected." If, in fact, participating in the democratic process in America were in the interests of the Black community there would be no need for a Free Breakfast Program, there would be no need for Free Health Clinics or any of the other programs we have developed to meet the people's needs. The rights of the minority are "protected" by the standards of a bourgeois government, and anything which is not in their interest is not permitted.

This may be democratic for the majority, but for the minority it has the same effect as fascism. When the majority decreed that we should be slaves, we were slaves — where was the democracy in slavery for us? When the majority decreed that we should pay taxes, fight and die in wars, and be given inferior and racist education against our interests, we got all of these things. Where is democracy for us in any of that? Our children still die, our youth still suffer from malnutrition, our middle-aged people still suffer from sickle cell anemia, and our elderly still face unbearable poverty and hardships because they reach the twilight period of their lives with nothing to sustain them through these difficult times. Where is the democracy in any of this for Black people?

Democracy means only that the majority will use us when they need us and cast us aside when they do not need us. A true understanding of the working and effect of American democracy for Black people will reveal most clearly that it is just the same as fascism for us. Our true interests and needs are not being served.

The political vehicle of the people must be guided by a consistent ideology which represents nothing more than a systematic and organized set of principles for analyzing and interpreting objective phenomena. An ideology can only be accepted as valid if it delivers a true understanding of the phenomena which affect the lives of the people. The development of a wide variety of truths about the community, its internal development and the external forces surrounding it will lead then to a philosophy which will help orient us toward goals which are in the true interests of the people.

The Black Panther Party was born in a period of stress when Black people were moving away from the philosophy and strategy of nonviolent action toward sterner actions. We dared to believe that we could offer the community a permanent political vehicle which would serve their needs and advocate their interest. We have been slandered, kidnapped, gagged, jailed and murdered. We know now, more than ever before, that the will of the people is greater than the technology and repression of those who are against the interest of the people. Therefore we know that we can and will continue to serve and educate the people.□

10 YEARS OF STRUGGLE, 10 YEARS OF SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE

A History Of The Black Panther Party

1966

•October 15 — Huey P. Newton concludes draft of a 10-Point Program and Platform — What We Want, What We Believe — related to fulfilling long-standing needs and desires in Black and poor oppressed communities, and founds the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. Huey given title of Minister of Defense. Little Bobby Hutton becomes the first member of the BPP.

•October — The BPP begins to implement its 10-Point Program, emphasizing Point 7: "We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people." Armed patrols of the police by the BPP, carrying both guns and lawbooks, begin in the Oakland Black community.

1967

•January 1 — The BPP opens its first official headquarters on 56th and Grove Streets in Oakland.

•January — BPP begins to sell copies of "The Red Book," *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung,* on the U.C. Berkeley campus.

•February 21 — Armed BPP members, led by Huey P. Newton, are confronted by police outside the San Francisco offices of *Ramparts* magazine while escorting Betty Shabazz, the wife of the late Malcolm X. No arrests were made after Huey, armed with a shotgun, tells head policeman, "If you start drawing, this will be a bloodbath."

•April 25 — The first issue of THE BLACK PANTHER *Black Community News Service,* the official political organ of the BPP, was published. A four-paged mimeographed newspaper, the first issue was headlined "Why Was Denzil Dowell Killed," and dealt extensively with exposing the vicious police murder of an innocent Black youth in Richmond, California.



"Li'l BOBBY HUTTON leads the way during the BPP's famous armed demonstration in Sacramento, California, on May 2, 1967.

•May 2 — Gun-carrying BPP members and supporters demonstrate at the State Capital in Sacramento on the Constitutional right to bear arms. In response to a proposed Mulford Gun Bill, which would restrict this right, statement by Huey P. Newton, Executive Mandate #1, was delivered on the Capital steps, which read (in part):

". . .Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned, demonstrated and everything else to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy. . .

"The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford Act brings the hour of doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society, must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction."

Thirty BPP members were arrested at a gas station while leaving Sacramento.



HUEY P. NEWTON

•June 29 — Huey P. Newton issues Executive Mandate #2, drafting Stokeley Carmichael into the BPP and investing him with the rank of Field Marshal.

•August 1 — In a significant BPP victory in community organizing, construction begins on a traffic light on the corner of 55th and Market Streets, the site of several traffic accidents in which Black schoolchildren were killed. The city of Oakland updated placement of the signal light from late 1968 to 1967 when BPP threatened to direct traffic itself until it was built.

•August 25 — An FBI memo circulated to all Bureau field offices details plans to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit or otherwise neutralize" Black liberation movement groups.

•October 28 — BPP Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton is attacked and seriously wounded by two White Oakland police officers in an early morning incident in which officer John Frey is killed and patrolman Herbert Heanes is also wounded. Newton arrested without bail.

•November — Noted San Francisco attorney Charles R. Garry, a longtime advocate for social justice and a brilliant trial lawyer, meets Huey Newton and becomes his attorney of record.



Supporters at 1968 Free Huey rally.

•November 13 — The Alameda County Grand Jury returns indictments on the charges of murder, assault with a deadly weapon upon a police officer and kidnapping against Huey Newton.

1968

•January — Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter forms the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, the first BPP Chapter outside the Bay Area.

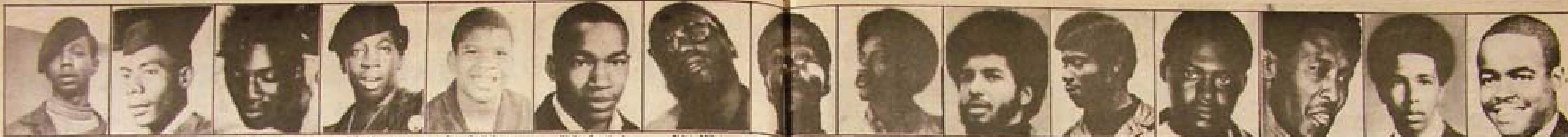
•February 17, 18 — In honor of Huey Newton's birthday on February 17, two major "Free Huey" rallies are held, one in Oakland on the 17th and the other in Los Angeles on the 18th. The Oakland rally, which filled the Oakland Auditorium, was attended by SNCC activists Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown and James Forman, and a short-lived "alliance" of the two organizations was announced: Carmichael was made BPP Prime Minister; Rap Brown, BPP Minister of Justice; and Forman, BPP Minister of Foreign Affairs.

•March — Kansas City BPP office raided. Five Panthers arrested.

•March 1 — Huey P. Newton issues Executive Mandate #3 which read (in part): ". . .We will not fall victim to a St. Valentine's Massacre. Therefore, those who approach our doors in the manner of outlaws, who seek to enter our homes illegally, unlawfully and in a rowdy fashion, those who kick our doors down with no authority and seek to ransack our homes in violation of our HUMAN RIGHTS, will henceforth be treated as outlaws, as gangsters, as evildoers. We have no way of determining that a man in a uniform involved in a forced outlaw entry into our homes is in fact a Guardian of the law. He is acting like a lawbreaker and we must make the appropriate response. We draw the line at the threshold of our doors. . ."

•March — Arthur Morris, the brother of the BPP Southern California Chapter founder/coordinator "Bunchy" Carter, is shot and

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Bobby James Hutton · Arthur Morris · Tommy Lewis · Robert Lawrence · Steve Bartholomew · Welton Armstead · Sidney Miller · Diggs · Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter · John Jerome Huggins · Alex Rackley · John Savage · Sylvester Bell · Nathaniel Clark · Larry Roberson

10 YEARS OF STRUGGLE, 10 YEARS OF SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE

A History Of The Black Panther Party

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killed by agents of the U.S. government.

•March 4 — FBI memo directs Bureau offices to "Prevent the coalition of militant Black nationalist groups. . .Prevent the rise of a Black 'messiah' who would unify and electrify the Black nationalist movement."

•March 16 — At a Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) convention in Richmond, a "coalition" between that majority White radical group and the BPP was announced. Several BPP members, including Huey P. Newton, run for electoral office in 1968 on the PFP ticket.

•April 3 — Shotgun-wielding Oakland police break into a BPP meeting at St. Augustine's Church in West Oakland.

•April 6 — Li'l Bobby Hutton, 17, the first member of the BPP and its national treasurer, is murdered in cold blood by Oakland police following a police-instigated shootout. Seven BPP members are arrested on conspiracy to murder charges.

•July — Seattle, Washington, BPP office raided.

•July 15 — Over 5,000 people rally outside the Alameda County Courthouse as the trial of BPP Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton began. News of the massive "Free Huey" rally received worldwide attention.

•August — Newark, New Jersey, BPP office firebombed.

•August 25 — BPP members Steve Bartholomew, Robert Lawrence and Tommy Lewis are murdered by Los Angeles police.

•September 8 — After 28 hours and 15 minutes of deliberations over the course of four days, jury, in a compromise verdict, convicts Huey P. Newton of manslaughter and acquits him of the assault charge.

•September 8 — FBI director J. Edgar Hoover calls the BPP "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country."

•September 28 — Huey P. Newton is sentenced to 2 to 15 years in prison.

•September 28 — Two on-duty Oakland police, admittedly drunk, shoot up the BPP headquarters.

•October — Denver BPP office shot up in police attack.

•October 15 — BPP member Welton Armstead murdered in Seattle.

•November 7 — BPP member Sidney Miller murdered in Seattle.

•November 25 — FBI memo details plans to promote violence between the BPP and the reactionary southern California-based US organization led by Ron Karenga, who was later exposed as cooperating with federal and local police agencies.

•December 7 — Denver BPP office raided, Newark BPP office bombed.

•December 18 — Indianapolis, Indiana, BPP office raided and ransacked.

•December 27 — Des Moines, Iowa, BPP office attacked.

•December 30 — Franko Diggs, a member of the BPP Los Angeles Chapter, shot in the back of the head and murdered by police agents.

1969

•January — The first BPP Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program is initiated at St. Augustine's Church in Oakland.

•January 17 — BPP Southern California Chapter leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, 26, and John Jerome Huggins, 23, murdered while leaving a student meeting on UCLA campus by members of the US organization. Almost simultaneously, LAPD raids several BPP offices in the Los Angeles area.

•January 24 — Chicago police and the FBI conspire to prevent BPP leader Fred Hampton from appearing on a TV talk show.

•January 30 — FBI director J. Edgar Hoover approves mailing of anonymous letter to provoke Blackstone Rangers to attack BPP in Chicago.

•April — BPP Los Angeles office raided.

•April 2 — Twenty-one BPP members in New York arrested on wide assortment of "conspiracy" charges.

•April 26 — Des Moines, Iowa, BPP offices totally destroyed in an anonymous bombing.

•April 28 — San Francisco BPP office raided.

•May — FBI orders all Bureaus to sabotage BPP Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Programs.

•May 1 — Close to 10,000 people rally outside State Building in San Francisco, as the California state Supreme Court takes up the appeal of Huey P. Newton's conviction.

•May 21 — BPP member Alex Rackley murdered outside New Haven, Connecticut, by police agent George Sams.

•May 22 — New Haven BPP office raided and 13 BPP members, including Ericka Huggins, arrested on a variety of "conspiracy" to murder charges.

•May 23 — BPP member John Savage murdered in San Diego by the US organization.

•May 26 — Chicago BPP leader Fred Hampton arrested and charged with stealing ice cream and distributing it to neighborhood Black youth.

•June — Racist Arkansas Senator John McClellan leads an Internal Security Committee "witch hunt" against the BPP.

•June 4 — Detroit BPP office raided.

•June 7 — Chicago BPP office raided.

•June 15 — San Diego and Sacramento BPP offices raided.

•July 18, 19, 20, 21 — BPP sponsors a highly successful United Front Against Fascism Conference in Oakland.

•July 24 — Internal Revenue Service creates an Activists Organization Project (later called Special Services Staff) and targets BPP.

•July 31 — Chicago BPP office raided.

•August 15 — BPP member Sylvester Bell murdered in San Diego by US organization members.

•September 4 — BPP member Larry Roberson dies of police-inflicted gunshot wounds in Cook County Hospital, Chicago.

•September 8 — Watts BPP Free Breakfast Program raided by armed police.

•September 12 — BPP member Nathaniel Clark murdered in Los Angeles.

•October 4 — Chicago BPP office raided.

•October 18 — BPP member Walter "Toure" Pope murdered by Metro Squad in Los Angeles.

•November 13 — BPP member Spurgeon "Jake" Winters murdered by Chicago police. Only 19, Jake is said to have killed four policemen and wounded seven in the attack.

•November 20 — Albany, New York, BPP office attacked.

•November 22 — San Diego BPP office raided.

•December 4 — Illinois State BPP leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark murdered in Chicago by police raiders from State's Attorney's Office. Hampton, 21, drugged beforehand by an agent provocateur who infiltrated BPP, was shot and killed as he slept. Clark, 22, from Pretoria, was killed as he answered a knock on the apartment door. Seven BPP members, several of whom were wounded, survived.

•December 8 — BPP members in Central Avenue, Los Angeles, Headquarters withstand five-hour predawn police attack. In all, 18 BPP members arrested as LAPD simultaneously raids several offices.

•December 25 — BPP member Sterling Jones murdered in Chicago.

•January 1, 1968, to December 31, 1969 — During this period the BPP suffered 739 arrests (an average of more than one a day), with close to $5 million ($4,890,580) spent on bail costs.

1970

•January 4 — Dedicated on December 25, 1969, the Spurgeon "Jake" Winters People's Free Health Clinic, the first BPP preventative medical clinic opens in Chicago.

•February 8 — Mayor Uhlman of Seattle, Washington, denies request from Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of U.S. Treasury Department for Seattle police to participate in a raid against BPP because it "smacks of Gestapo-type tactics."

•May 1 — Over 25,000 people gather on the New Haven Green in a major BPP-sponsored rally to focus attention on the unjust incarceration of Ericka Huggins.

•May 1 — Baltimore BPP office raided.

•May 11 — FBI memo to S.F. office directs furnishing BPP national headquarters with false and divisive information, a "disruptive and disinformation" operation.

•May 15 — FBI order to all Bureau offices directs agents to disrupt distribution of THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper.

•May 29 — The California Court of Appeals, in a 51-page opinion, reverses Huey P. Newton's manslaughter conviction. Although it agrees Huey should have been acquitted, the Court refuses to grant him bail pending the prosecution's appeal.

•July 27 — BPP member Babatunde Omarwali murdered in Chicago.

•July 28 — Carl Hampton, founder/chairman of People's Party II in Houston, Texas, an organization modeled after the BPP, murdered by police.

•August 5 — After serving close to three years in jail and prison for a crime he did not commit, BPP founder/leader Huey P. Newton is released from prison.

•August 7 — BPP member Jonathan Jackson, a 17-year-old Black "man-child," is murdered by sheriff's deputies at Marin Civic Center following his heroic bid to win the release of his imprisoned brother, author/revolutionary George Jackson.

•August 20 — New Bedford NCCF (National Committee to Combat Fascism, a BPP affiliate) raided by police.

•August 26 — At an Oakland press conference, Huey Newton denounces Stokely Carmichael as "a CIA agent."

•August 29 — In a statement to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, Huey Newton offers "an undetermined number of troops to assist you in your fight against U.S. imperialism" and announces that the BPP is "the vanguard party of revolutionary internationalists who give up all claim to nationalism."

•September 1 — Philadelphia BPP offices raided. Police order BPP members to strip naked.

•September 4,5 — BPP convenes Plenary Session for Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Attendance numbers into the thousands.

•September 16 — New Orleans NCCF office raided.

•November 18 — In a speech at Boston College, Huey P. Newton announces the philosophy of the BPP as revolutionary intercommunalism.

•December — FBI memo discusses plans for microphone and telephone surveillance of Huey Newton's Oakland apartment.

•December — BPP organizes Ideological Institute in Oakland.

•December 4,5 — BPP convenes Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in Washington, D.C.

1971

•January — BPP founds Huey P. Newton Intercommunal Youth Institute in Oakland.

•February — BPP member Fred Bennett, murdered in Santa Cruz mountains.

•February 13 — THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper changes from a Black Community News Service to an Intercommunal News Service.

•March 5 — BPP sponsors Intercommunal Day of Solidarity dedicated to "Freedom for all Political Prisoners."

•April 1 — FBI begins payment of rent on apartment across the hall from Huey P. Newton's apartment.

•April — FBI claims its infamous COINTELPRO operations ended this month. (Later FBI admits the BPP was targeted in 233 of 295 authorized COINTELPRO actions.)

•April 10 — BPP initiates countrywide campaign to research and eradicate Sickle Cell Anemia, a deadly hereditary blood disease, primarily affecting Black people, in a front-page story in THE BLACK PANTHER.

•April 17 — BPP member Samuel Napier, distribution and circulation manager of THE BLACK PANTHER, murdered in New York. Distribution office burned to the ground.

•April 17 — Major statement by Huey P. Newton, "On the Defection of Eldridge Cleaver from the Black Panther Party and the Defection of the Black Panther Party from the Black Community," announces that BPP has returned to its "original vision."

•May 24, 25 — Ericka Huggins is released from over two years' incarceration when the judge in her celebrated New Haven trial dismissed the charges against her. The day before, May 24, the jury declared a mistrial in her case.

•June 28 — Second trial of Huey P. Newton begins at Alameda County Courthouse.

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Spurgeon "Jake" Winters · Walter "Toure" Pope · Fred Hampton · Mark Clark · Sterling Jones · Babatunde X Omarwali · Carl Hampton · Jackson · Fred Bennett · Samuel Napier · George Jackson · Joseph Waddell · Cindy Smallwood · Bruce "Deacon" Washington

10 YEARS OF STRUGGLE, 10 YEARS OF SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

•July — BPP begins boycott against two liquor stores owned by Bill Boyette, president of Cal-State Package Store and Tavern Owners Association, for refusing continual donations to BPP Survival Programs.

•July 23 — Three days after opening of L.A. 18 trial, former BPP member Melvin "Cotton" Smith reveals himself as a longtime agent provocateur and testifies for the prosecution.

•August 8 — Second trial of Huey P. Newton ends in a hung jury.

•August 18 — Cleveland, Ohio, BPP Free Health Clinic dynamited.

•August 21 — BPP Field Marshal George Jackson assassinated at San Quentin Prison.

•September — Huey P. Newton, Elaine Brown visit People's Republic of China.

•October 5 — San Quentin 6 indicted on murder and conspiracy charges in aftermath of George Jackson assassination.

•October 8 — Huey Newton, Elaine Brown return from visit to People's Republic of China.

•October 12 — Third trial of Huey P. Newton begins.

•December — Third trial of Huey P. Newton ends in another hung jury.

•December 15 — D.A. dismisses case against Huey P. Newton.

1972

•January 14, 15 — BPP ends boycott against Bill Boyette. Congressman Ron Dellums announces agreement at a press conference on the 15th.

•March 29 — BPP adopts new platform in 10-Point Program and Platform to reflect changing realities.

•March 29, 30, 31 — Nearly 16,000 people unite for survival at three-day Black Community Survival Conference. Some 10,000 free bags of groceries (with a chicken in every bag) were distributed; 13,282 people were tested for Sickle Cell Anemia; 11,120 were registered to vote.

•May 13 — Elaine Brown announces her candidacy for City Council seat in April, 1973, Oakland municipal elections.

•June 13 — BPP member Joseph "Joe-Dell" Waddell murdered in prison in Raleigh, North Carolina.

•June 24 — Some 10,000 free bags of groceries, 10,000 free Sickle Cell Anemia tests and 2,500 pairs of women's shoes distributed at BPP's Anti-War, African Liberation, Voter Registration Survival Conference.

•July — BPP drops the use of titles.

•November 18 — "Burglars" with police lockbreaking equipment and armed with silencers break into Huey Newton's apartment.

•December 4 — BPP initiates Seniors Against A Fearful Environment (SAFE) Program.

1973

•February — BPP member Cynthia "Cindy" Smallwood, "a gentle woman with a smile like sunshine," is pronounced dead as a result of injuries she suffered three days earlier when she was thrown out of the van she was driving, in an auto accident.

•April 17 — Elaine Brown garners over 34,000 votes in the Oakland elections.

•August 15 — IRS memo reveals special "phase-out/phase-in" of Special Services Staff, with particular reference to BPP file.

•September 13 — Oakland police chief confirms existence of a $10,000 contract on the life of Huey P. Newton.

•October 21 — Celebration/dedication of the Son of Man Temple/Oakland Community Learning Center complex.

1974

•January 17 — Citing the nonrepresentative nature of the grand jury, a Marin County Superior Court judge dismisses the indictments against the San Quentin 6.

•January 18 — IRS orders the Bank of America to turn over all records related to BPP accounts.

•January 26 — Winston-Salem, North Carolina, BPP Chapter initiates Free Ambulance Program.

•February 2 — BPP issues call to "Eliminate the Presidency."

•April 16 — BPP facility in Oakland raided with important election files stolen.

•April 25 — Chicago BPP office raided.

•May 1 — Oakland restaurant frequented by BPP members attacked in an alleged "hold-up" attempt.

•May 14 — IRS orders First Enterprise Bank to turn over all records related to BPP accounts.

•June 16 — Intercommunal Youth Institute celebrates first graduation.

•July 30 — Huey P. Newton and several other BPP members beaten and arrested at an Oakland nightclub.

•August 7 — Houston BPP office raided.

•August 16—Dallas BPP office raided.

•August 17 — Huey P. Newton's apartment raided. Huey is arrested on false and discrediting charges.

•August 23 — Announcement of formation of Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the BPP.

•August 23 — Huey P. Newton fails to attend court appearance.



Poster of Huey P. Newton in Oakland headquarters shot up by police the day he was sentenced.



The Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program, the Black Panther Party's first Survival Program.

•October 26 — BPP member Bruce "Deacon" Washington murdered by police agents in Oakland.

•December 15 — State Court of Appeals reinstates indictments against San Quentin 6.

1975

•March — Committee for Greater Voter Registration registers close to 20,000 Alameda County residents to vote.

•March 23 — Jury selection begins in S.Q. 6 case.

•April 15 — Elaine Brown captures 41 per cent of the vote in Oakland City Council election.

•June 10 — BPP member Robert Heard was convicted on false charges stemming from local and federal police harassment of Huey Newton and the BPP in 1974.

•July 28 — Following the longest jury selection in state history, San Quentin 6 trial begins. BPP chief counsel Charles Garry announces an anonymous death threat on his life if he continues to represent BPP Johnny Larry Spain.

1976

•July — Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the BPP announces that from late 1973 through June, 1976, there have been 312 false arrests of BPP members in the Oakland area alone, 175 of these in the first six months of 1976.

•August 12 — After 24 days of deliberations, the S.Q. 6 jury returns compromise guilty verdicts against three defendants, convicting BPP member Johnny Larry Spain on murder and conspiracy to escape charges.

•October 1 — BPP member Johnny Larry Spain sentenced to two life terms in prison. BPP chief counsel Charles Garry announces he has filed an appeal.

•October 6 — BPP chairperson Elaine Brown announces that BPP founder and leader Huey P. Newton intends to return to Oakland within the next year.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

ROBERT MUGABE AND JOSHUA NKOMO PRESENT DEMANDS FOR MAJORITY RULE

ZIMBABWE BLACK LEADERS FORM "PATRIOTIC FRONT"

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) — In a major victory for the Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) armed liberation struggle, two of the country's rival Black leaders last week announced that they would unite forces at the upcoming Geneva (Switzerland) conference on Zimbabwe. They also called for immediate Black majority rule in the breakaway British colony and issued a list of six demands, some of which they said would have to be met before they would attend the Geneva talks.

In another major development last week, freedom fighters of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) blew up a key railroad bridge near Victoria Falls on October 7, sending 11 freight cars crashing into the Matetsi River below. No one was reported killed in the attack, but two 25-yard steel and concrete spans were completely detroyed by the powerful explosion.

Robert Mugabe, political commander of ZIPA—the "Third Force" or "Fighting Force" that is waging the armed struggle against the Rhodesian White minority government headed by "Prime Minister" Ian Smith—as well as a member of the Central Committee of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and Joshua Nkomo, leader of the internal wing of the African National Council (ANC), announced the formation of their "patriotic front" following a meeting here last Saturday, October 9.

Although divided over personal matters in recent years, Mugabe and Nkomo have both been active in the Zimbabwean liberation struggle since the early 1950s. Nkomo founded the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) in the 1950s. Internal differences between himself and other ZAPU members brought about the later formation of ZANU, of which Mugabe has been a longtime member.

Both men were political prisoners of the Smith regime until last year, Nkomo having served 11 years in detainment and Mugabe, 10. The resolution of their differences was hailed by progressive Black Africans and others committed to achieving Black majority rule in the remaining colonies in southern Africa.

Mugabe explained that some but not all of the two leaders' six demands would have to be met before they would attend the October 25 Geneva conference that Great Britain is organizing. The ZIPA leader would not specify which demands were preconditions for his and Nkomo's participation. The list of demands includes:

•Release of political prisoners and others detained under Rhodesia's emergency laws;

•Abolition of "protected villages" in which the Smith regime has imprisoned thousands of Black Zimbabweans in order to keep them out of the reach of the liberation forces;



Zimbabwean leaders (left to right) ROBERT MUGABE, GEORGE SILUMDIKA and JOSHUA NKOMO announce the formation of new patriotic front, which will demand immediate majority rule.

•Abolition of restrictions on all political activities in Zimbabwe, where ZANU is one of several outlawed groups.

•The end of the "state of emergency," which gives government unlimited police powers;

•Suspension of all political trials and the release of aii freedom fighters sentenced to death; and

•Unimpeded return to Zimbabwe of all members of the liberation struggle.

Mugabe and Nkomo would not say whether they would refuse to attend the Geneva conference if their demands were not met first. They made it clear that if Smith attends the conference, he will only be considered "as an extension of the United Kingdom (British) delegation." The White rebel leader has said he will lead the White Rhodesian delegation to the Geneva talks.



South African police brutalize young Azanian.

Vorster Rejects Call For Azanian Convention

(Pretoria, South Africa) - South African "Prime Minister" John Vorster last week rejected demands from Black leaders of the country's tribal "homelands" that a nationwide multiracial convention be held to discuss growing political unrest in the country and that Black political prisoners illegally detained by the government be released.

At the United Nations last week, African countries circulated a draft of a resolution they intend to introduce before the Security Council calling for economic sanctions against South Africa for its failure to grant immediate Black majority rule in Namibia (South West Africa). A similar measure was vetoed by the U.S., Great Britain and France last year.

Following a six-hour meeting here with Vorster on October 8, *Reuters* news agency reports, the seven "homeland" leaders issued a joint statement, which said, in part: "The 'prime minister' stated that he rejected the principle of a national conference as he could see no merit in the idea at all.

"With regard to the release of detained Black leaders, he said that he was not prepared, could not and would not interfere with the law. . . ."

The "homeland" chieftains made the call for a national convention in a memorandum they submitted to the National Party-ruled Vorster government prior to their talks with the leader of the White minority regime. A

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INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA

NETO: "OUR STRENGTH RESIDES IN THE PEOPLE"

On November 11, the People's Republic of Angola (PRA) will celebrate the first anniversary of its liberation from Portuguese colonialism. The following is Part 5 of an in-depth interview with Dr. Agostinho Neto, president of the PRA and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). In his discussion with the French biweekly Afrique-Asie, *Dr. Neto provides an update on the ongoing Angolan Revolution. We thank* People's Translation Service *for providing us with this article.*



Dr. AGOSTINHO NETO, president of the People's Republic of Angola.

PART 5

QUESTION: On June 27, elections took place. What importance do you attribute to this first electoral consultation of the people?

NETO: These were the elections for the people's commissions in the district of Luanda. Here, in the capital, an important revolutionary process has been developing throughout the course of our liberation struggle: the foundation of popular power must begin in Luanda. It was with great enthusiasm that our people participated in the preliminary electoral activities and in the elections themselves.

DISTRICT COMMISSIONS

The district commissions now have a "legal" existence. During the war, they were constituted without consulting the population of every district. This situation had to be "regularized"; hence, elections were held. They will be extended to cover every one of our provinces, to include the whole country, culminating in the election of a popular Assembly, and, in consequence, in the elections of the agencies directing the state.

It is thus a matter of the birth of an embryonic organism which will grow and transform Angola into a country controlled by the people themselves.

In this manner, in the wave of successive elections, preference will always be given to working class and peasant comrades—this in order to realize our intention of transforming Angola into a country actually governed by the working classes. These first elections clearly are of great importance; they are the beginning of the transformation of the capital of Angola into a city effectively governed by the workers. (Here, in the zone of Luanda, there are no peasants.)

Q: It is thus the legal creation of popular power. But isn't there a conflict between, on the one hand, the necessity of the structuring of the state, which means centralization, in the final analysis, and on the other hand, the desire which you have just indicated to develop popular power, and thus to multiply the centers of decision making? Doesn't this constitute a source of difficulty?

NETO: This certainty does present a certain number of problems. The difficulties, however, are not fundamental, since the two processes converge. We believe that a strong state cannot exist in Angola which is not founded upon the power of the people, upon popular organizations and grassroots control, at the provincial and national level. Without all this, the state would continue to survive on provisional and emergency solutions.

With the organizations of popular power, the genuine participation of the masses will guarantee that the responsible organs of the state, the government and the Assembly about to be elected, will enjoy a support which is more important, one that is organized. The support of a mass organization stems from the towns and the countryside, and thus it can express grassroots ideas and opinions.

I do not believe that there are contradictions in this area, even if you include certain difficulties of the present time. We will have the popular base necessary for our action.

TO BE CONTINUED

Mass Purge Of Radicals Reported In People's China

(Peking, People's Republic of China) - Official confirmation of Premier Hua Kuo-feng as successor to the "great helmsman" Mao Tse-tung as chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee clashed with unconfirmed but growing reports last Tuesday of the arrest of Mao's widow, Chiang Ching, and three other top leftists in what amounts to a sweeping purge of the country's radical leadership.

Despite an official statement of "no comment," reports persist that Wang Hung-wen, the 40-year-old vice chairman from Shanghai suddenly elevated to top leadership by Mao during the Cultural Revolution, Chang Chun-chiao, a vice premier and the People's Liberation Army's political commissar, Yao Wen-yuan, the country's chief propagandist, and 40 other middle and upper ranking leftist officials have been arrested and charged with plotting to overthrow the government. Sources say the arrests were carried out by Hua's personal security force.

As Central Committee chairman, and reportedly also premier and chairman of the party's military commission, Hua Kuo-feng holds an unprecedented combination of top posts in the Chinese Communist Party as well as in the government and the military.

AFRICA IN FOCUS

United Nations

Zambia's delegation to the United Nations last week called for intensified armed struggle in Zimbabwe. Mozambique Foreign Minister Joaquin Chissano told reporters in New York that the armed struggle would continue in Zimbabwe until the Smith regime is overthrown and a Black majority government is established. After a 45-minute meeting with Kissinger, Chissano declared, "It is fantasy to speak of peace."

Azania

Last week, in a Black "township" of Johannesburg, Azanians stoned nine buses while three Black youths were arrested in a White suburb for stoning passing cars. Police confirmed that they arrested Terence Tyron, secretary-general of the predominantly Black South African Students Organizations (SASO), in Durban.

Eritrea

The Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) has freed three Britons who had been held captive since May, the Egyptian Middle East News Agency reported last week. The agency said that the three men were released into the custody of Sudanese authorities following an appeal by the British government to Sudanese President Jaafar Nimeiri to intervene on their behalf. ELF freedom fighters captured the Britons in the Danakil Desert where they were traveling with a Polish-born Ethiopian.

Senegal

A nationwide Anti-Illiteracy Week was recently held in Senegal with an emphasis on teaching national language and eliminating illiteracy, *Hsinhua* news agency reports. The government agency heading the campaign noted that anti-illiteracy is interrelated with the struggle for economic independence from the Western world.



SAMORA MACHEL (center).

COMMUNAL VILLAGES FORMED

Rural Revolution Transforms Mozambique's Countryside

The following is the conclusion of a two-part series on FRELIMO's policies on rural revolution and communal villages which are taking deep roots in the Mozambican countryside.

CONCLUSION

At Mataca, one of three pilot villages partially designed by experts from the Ministry of Agriculture, everything is planned with the idea that one day there will be tractors available. Fields, therefore, are laid out in plots of up to 600 acres, leveled and cleared of stumps.

A brick-making brigade was at work — some patting moistened earth into molds, others emptying the earth molds to dry in the sun. At the spot that would be the residential site, houses were being built such as no villager had ever dreamed before. Each house had four bedrooms and a sitting room — with chicken coops and rabbit hutches behind — and plenty of space between each house.

Provisions were also being made for the almost unbelievable day when electricity and piped water would be available. In accordance with the Central Committee decree, land was also set aside for a landing strip for a light plane — or at least a helicopter pad.

Formation of the communal villages has to be voluntary, according to the Central Committee decree. This means that the success of the pioneer villages in the old liberated zones is extremely important. Peasants all

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LANDMARK ELECTIONS BY REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

PEOPLE'S POWER IN CUBA

(Havana, Cuba) - Revolutionary Cuba is a more exciting place than usual these days.

The county is undergoing a thorough reorganization. The outcome is intended to broaden and deepen the democratic rights and responsibilities of the masses and strengthen the socialist system.

Three important changes are going on simultaneously, which affect the daily life and work of virtually every Cuban citizen:

•A new political and administrative division of the country is taking place.

•Elections are being held to governing organs at municipal, provincial and national levels.

•A new system of organization — appropriate to the planned decentralization of administrative and economic powers — is going into effect.

One essential of the new plan is to promote more popular participation in the political, economic and administrative affairs of state through decentralizing a vast number of activities heretofore handled by the national government, Wilfred Burchett of the *Guardian* writes.



Mass Cuban rally. Currently, Cuba is undergoing a reorganization which will broaden and deepen the democratic rights of its citizens.

Among the areas of control now being handed over from the central government to Municipal and Provincial Executive Committees will be municipal and provincial public health and educational facilities, public utilities, hotels, restaurants, recreational facilities, the retail trade network, regional transport services, housing maintenance and allocation, the purchase and distribution of food and local industry.

All of this is aimed at reducing bureaucracy and streamlining the administrative and productive processes.

It is a bold and comprehensive plan which is being put into operation here, but it reflects the experiences — positive and negative — of over 17 years of state power by the revolutionary government plus one year's direct experiment in Matanzas Province.

The new decentralization plan is called People's Power and in some extensive visits throughout

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S.W.A.P.O. Leader Visits Cuba— Holds Talks With Castro

(Havana, Cuba) - Sam Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia, left here on October 8 following a highly successful six-day visit during which he conferred with Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.



SWAPO's SAM NUJOMA.

Prior to his departure for Luanda, People's Republic of Angola, Nujoma told a news conference, "Cuba has been in the forefront of support to African peoples fighting for freedom against imperialism and there is no doubt that Cuba's support to the people of Namibia will continue."

The Namibian leader was given treatment generally accorded to foreign dignitaries who visit Cuba. Among the places he toured were the large housing development of Alamar, east of Havana, which was built by workers from all walks of life; the Picadura Valleys Cattle Center, where he was accompanied by Cuban Deputy Prime Minister Carlos Rafael Rodriguez; and the Moncada Barracks in Santiago Province, where Premier Castro and other patriots initiated the Cuban Revolution in 1953.

Nujoma gave an optimistic report of SWAPO's armed struggle against South Africa, stating that Namibian freedom fighters have "liberated and almost control" parts of the north, northwest, east and north center of the country and that they are "successfully penetrating the south."

Prior to his trip to Cuba, Nujoma appeared before the United Nations Security Council where he urged Council members to impose economic sanctions against South Africa for refusing to grant immediate Black majority rule in Namibia.

In Havana, the SWAPO leader repeated his organization's demands for holding talks with the colonial regime on the territory's future: the release of all Namibian political prisoners, the withdrawal of South African troops and discussions on the method for attaining immediate Black majority rule.□

Oakland Community School: Serving The Youth, Body And Soul

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

Music and Physical Education. Unlike the public schools from which they came, OCS students were, and still are, encouraged to freely express their opinions about the School's program in order that it be made as relevant to their needs as possible.

The School's waiting list continued to grow and the need for larger facilities even more vital. In October, 1973, through the efforts of Huey P. Newton, the Black Panther Party secured a building in East Oakland at 6118 E. 14th Street, a former Baptist church, which now, as the Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC), houses the School as well as the numerous community service and cultural programs operated by the Party.

It was also at this time that the Educational Opportunities Corporation (EOC) — the nonprofit, community-based organization that administers the School — was created.

Less than one year after it relocated in East Oakland, the School held its first graduation ceremony in June, 1974, honoring Deborah Williams as the first graduate.

By the opening of its fourth year on September 23, 1974, the School had over 100 children enrolled. They were organized into eight groups — 1 through 4, primary skills, and 5-8, secondary skills. One of the basic beliefs of the OCS throughout its history has been that the community and the world provide a classroom whereby the children can learn through observation and experience as well as study. Environmental Studies was added to the curriculum during the 1974-75 school year in order to provide the children with as wide a variety of learning experiences as possible.

During 1975, the Oakland Community School (renamed from the Intercommunal Youth Institute in August, 1975) had begun to gain statewide attention. Prominent California officials such as Secretary of Health and Welfare Mario Obledo and Senator Alan Cranston were among the distinguished visitors to the School last year. In addition, numerous educators throughout the state and across the nation began to visit the School — to see in action this important educational model about which they had heard so much.

The 1975-76 school year brought many honors to the OCS, which by now had 125 students. *The Alameda County Board of* Supervisors presented the School with a plaque for its outstanding contributions to the education of



BPINS photo

OCS instructors are dedicated to serving Black and poor youth.

poor and disadvantaged youth. Perhaps the biggest thrill of all was the election of OCS Director Ericka Huggins to the Alameda County Board of Education on July 1 of this year. Ericka, leading member of the Black Panther Party, is the first Black person to ever serve on the Board.

The OCS has constantly sought to make its curriculum as innovative as possible, thereby directly relating to the needs of the children. For the current school year, the School has expanded its services to include offerings in secondary education. Instead of eight groups, there are now 12 levels in which students are placed according to their ability in a particular subject. □

WORLD SCOPE

Canada

Former Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker recently blamed the late President John F. Kennedy for intervening in Canadian elections in 1962 and 1963 to help defeat his Progressive Conservative Party. Diefenbaker, prime minister from 1957 to 1963, said Kennedy and "his friends. . .the powerful interests on Wall Street," caused a foreign exchange crisis that forced the Diefenbaker government to devaluate the Canadian dollar just before the 1962 election.

People's China

The body of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, who died on September 8 at the age of 82, will be displayed for posterity in a crystal sarcophagus (stone coffin) in a mausoleum to be built in Peking, the *New China* news agency recently announced. The decision was made, the announcement said, "in order to perpetuate the memory of Mao Tse-tung, to educate and inspire the workers, peasants and soldiers and to uphold the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung."

Italy

After four years of rebellion, Italy's angry and frustrated prison inmates are still protesting their government's failure to eliminate the inadequate and overcrowded living conditions of the country's archaic prison system, *Pacific News Service* reports. More than 200 prison revolts have broken out this year in the form of hunger and work strikes, barricaded corridors and cells, burning mattresses and taking hostages. The Italian government claims it lacks sufficient funds and personnel to improve conditions.

West Bank

Infuriated Palestinian Arabs desecrated the holy Jewish Torah scrolls, located in the Jewish section of the Tomb of Abraham in Hebron, on the Israeli-occupied West Bank recently, in retaliation for unknown Zionists having trampled on the Moslem holy book, the Koran. In response, Israeli military authorities have imposed a strict curfew on Hebron's 39,000 Palestinians.



Revolutionary poets of the Black Panther Party (left to right) HUEY P. NEWTON, ELAINE BROWN, ERICKA HUGGINS, the late ALPRENTICE "Bunchy" CARTER and JOHNNY SPAIN.

INSIGHTS, SONGS, POEMS OF STRUGGLE

Ego

I do not know enough about myself
because you do not know enough about yourself
Would you help me know

• • •

one day i suddenly realized i had forgotten:
name
age
sex
address
race
I had found myself

• • •

there is a conception
That will grow within you
Its name shall be called freedom

• • •

What is greater than love or hate?
I will tell you then.
What is greater than love
is the relationship I have
with the tip of my finger.

• • •

If I define myself as my thumb
I deny myself my fingers
If I define myself as my fingers
I deny myself my hand
If I define myself as my hand
I deny myself my arm
If I define myself as my arm
I deny myself my body
If I define my myself as my body
I deny myself my universe
I diminish myself.

Revolutionary Suicide

By having no family
I inherited the family of humanity.
By having no possessions
I have possessed all.
By rejecting the love of one
I received the love of all.
By surrendering my life to the revolution
I found eternal life.
Revolutionary Suicide.

Sun Is Red

The sun rises in the East
We will make it set in the west
And it will also be red

For The Community

One can have knowledge without understanding
But there is no understanding without knowledge.

—Huey P. Newton

Seize The Time

You tell me that the sun belongs
To you and should surround you.
But, when I turn to look
I see they've snatched
The sun from all around you.
Why you hardly seem
To want what's yours
You hardly seem to care.
If you love the sun,
It's where you've come from
Then you had better dare
To Seize The Time
The time is now
Oh, Seize The Time
And you know how.

You tell me that the soul is real
And your soul must survive.
Yet, I see they've taken liberties
With your souls and your lives.
Don't tell me that you lack concern
For all that you must be,
'Cause I know you know you must not be turned
And I know that you can see
To Seize The Time
The time is now
Oh, Seize The Time
And you know how.

You worry about liberty
Because you've been denied.
Well, I think that you're mistaken
Or then, you must have lied.
'Cause you do not act like those who care
You've never even fought
For the liberty you claim to lack
Or have you never thought
To Seize The Time
The time is now
Oh, Seize The Time
And you know how.

—Elaine Brown

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"The Power Belongs To All Of Us"

"In all societies, the way of life of the people, their culture, mores, customs, etc., evolve from the economic basis of that society. The United States is a capitalist society, the system of capitalism being one of exploitation of man by man, with by-products such as racism, religious chauvinism, sexual chauvinism, and unnatural divisions among the people. In other words, it's a dog-eat-dog society. But it's not a dog-eat-dog world.

"Men are not innately greedy, nor are they innately uncooperative with each other. Therefore, it is our goal, it is the goal of the Black Panther Party, and must be the goal of all men, to create conditions in which men can start being human, can begin to cooperate with each other, can love each other, in fact, in peace. Men cannot do this without an arena in which to do so. In other words, in an exploitative system men are forced to exploit. In an unkind system, men are forced to be unkind. In a world of inhumanity, men will be inhuman. In a society that is warmongering, men will war. These are the aspects, or the way of life, of a people who are part of a capitalist system.

"And songs are a part of the culture of society. Art, in general, is that. Songs, like all art forms, are an expression of the feelings and thoughts, the desires and hopes, and so forth, of a people. They are no more than that. A song cannot change a situation, because a song does not live and breathe. People do.

"And so the songs in this album are a statement — by, of and for the people. All the people. A statement to say that we, the masses of people have had a game run on us; a game that made us think that it was necessary for our survival to grab from each other, to take what we wanted as individuals from any other individuals or groups, or to exploit each other. And so, the statement is that some of us have understood that it is absolutely essential for our survival to do just the opposite. And that, in fact, we have always had the power to do it. The power to determine our destinies as human beings and not allow them to be determined by the few men who now determine them. That we are always human and always had this power. But that we never recognized that, for we were deluged, bombarded, mesmerized by the trinkets of the ruling class. And this means all of us: Black, Mexican, White, Indian, Oriental, Gypsy, all who are members of the working class, of the nonworking class (that is, those who don't have jobs), all who are oppressed.

"This means all of us have this power. But the power only belongs to all of us, not just some or one, but all. And that was the trick. That was the thing we never understood. And that is what statement these songs make."

— Elaine Brown, taken from "Seize the Time" album cover (1969).

People's Power In Cuba

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

the country in the last couple of weeks to farms, factories, schools, villages and cities, I found great popular enthusiasm for this important new phase of the Cuban revolution.

In order to implement the plan, a new organizational structure has been devised which features nationwide elections at all levels. The first phase of the elections began last month in primary balloting for candidates to run in municipal elections set for October 10. Those elected to municipal posts will in turn choose delegates to provincial governing organs. Provincial delegates will then select deputies to a National Assembly of People's Power — which will function as the supreme organ of state power.



Cuba's young people will benefit from new "people's power."

Deadline for accomplishing these electoral objectives is December 2 — 20th anniversary of the landing of the Granma, the boat that brought Prime Minister Fidel Castro and a band of guerrillas back to Cuba to launch Cuba's liberation war. The decentralization plan is to be in full operation early next year.

The elections are characterized by democracy and a high degree of popular participation. In the primaries for municipal candidates, meetings were called at city block or village level at which any resident over the age of 16 was entitled to nominate a candidate. The only stipulations were that the candidate had to be at least 18 and that those who made the nominations did so in their own name and not in the name of the Communist party or any other organization.

Posters all over the towns and countryside exhorted voters to choose those best qualified to serve their interests. There had to be a minimum of two candidate dates proposed in the primaries, with three or four of the general rule. Since city blocks or villages represent a third or fourth of each municipal electoral district, there are three or four candidates for every seat in the October 10 municipal elections as well.

At block and village level, voters personally knew the qualities of those they were selecting in the primaries. Now, a month before the municipal elections, photos and biographies of the candidates are posted up in public places. There is no personal campaigning by the candidates — no bands, no free beer or demagogic electoral promises; just adequate information about each nominee.

NEW SYSTEM

Under the new system being developed, the regional level will eliminated, provinces will be increased to 14 and municipalities will be reduced to 169. The elected People's Power municipal committees will take over the administration of thousands of economic units and services formerly administered by the state.

The changes were incorporated in the new socialist constitution adopted by a 97 per cent vote in a nationwide referendum last February, following an experiment in People's Power in Matanzas Province, started in June, 1975. □

Rural Revolution Transforms Mozambique's Countryside

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over the world are slow to change their habits; they have to be convinced by practice or example to take a new step.

But once they have taken that step, there is usually no retreat. The idea of moving a whole country from an archaic slash-and-burn type of agriculture — with seeds dropped into holes made by a pointed stick—to one of large fields cultivated by plows and tractors represents a tremendous leap into the future.

The houses with windows, villages with running water, nurseries to take the babies off the backs of the working mothers, clinics, granaries, shops — the peasants did not even dream of such things a year ago. But they are becoming a reality in a handful of pioneer villages.

"Despite the fact that we are a country in which the agricultural resources of soil and water are superabundant," said President Samora Machel in a speech October 25, 1975, announcing the decree on communal villages, "we are forced to import agricultural products and the overwhelming majority of our peasant masses live in atrocious misery, deprived of the principal conquests of humanity. . .

"The fact is that if the exploited peasant masses organize themselves, live and work together in the communal villages, they can coordinate and unite their efforts, creating solid bases for their political, cultural, economic and social development—in short an overall improvement in their own living conditions."



FRELIMO soldier participates in agricultural production.

One of the women proudly showed me excellent cabbages and lettuces in patches from which others had already been cut.

"Working together on big fields was strange for us at first," she said. "But the results are good. We are eating our first home-grown food. It's more fun working together. We see that the difficulties are temporary and that life will get better every season."

It is that sort of changed mentality that justifies the confidence of Samora Machel and his colleagues in the FRELIMO leadership that the communal village program would strike root. □



Azanians burn vehicles in Soweto "township."

Call For Azanian Convention Rejected

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spokesperson for the South African Information Ministry said that the Black political protest movement, which has been escalating in Azania since the Soweto rebellion of June 16, was not discussed in detail during last week's meeting.

The excuse given by the spokesperson for the exclusion of this topic from the meeting's agenda was that Vorster was waiting on the final report of the government's sham commission of inquiry into the hundreds of Black and Colored rebellions that have occurred in Azania during the last four months.

Although the Vorster government has plans to give "independence" to the "homelands" — as part of the racist regime's "separate (racial) development" policy — the tribal heads have stated their firm opposition to such "independence." The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has called for a diplomatic boycott of the Transkei, the first "homeland" to receive "independence." The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has called for a diplomatic boycott of the Transkei, the first "homeland" to receive "independence," scheduled for October 26.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of Azania's largest tribe, the four million Zulus, told government officials that Azanians must win substantial political rights and recognition soon or else "more and more of our people will feel that violence is the only alternative left."

The Zulu leader, a frequent critic of the White government, added that Azanians do not want "self-determination within a framework laid down by Whites." □

SPORTS

O.C.L.C. MARTIAL ARTS: "SET NO LIMIT AS A LIMIT"

Program Expanded From School Curriculum To Classes For All Ages

(Oakland, Calif.) - In September, 1974, the Oakland Community School introduced martial arts into its curriculum, becoming the only elementary level school in the country to do so.

At that time, classes focused on many of the aspects of Tae Kwon Do that are passed on traditionally in the studios; "like master, like student." With the growing popular interest in martial arts that was evident in the Black community and particularly among the youth, classes limited to Oakland Community School youth were expanded to evening classes. Subsequently, these classes were formalized into a comprehensive plan: the Young Adult Martial Arts Program of the Oakland Community Learning Center.



BPINS photos

Young participants in the OCLC All-Open Martial Arts Program demonstrate their skills and techniques. In tournaments, students from this free program usually compete against more experienced students with a great degree of success.

With an initial enrollment of 35 students, mostly from the East Oakland Black community, the Young Adult Martial Arts Program opened up to youth and teenagers free of charge. Class instruction still followed closely the ceremonial and ritual of Tae Kwon Do (Korean boxing) with some introduction to Wing Chun a predominantly hand-oriented system developed in China).

NO UNIFORMS

Since most of the students at that time were unable to afford the prices at other dojangs (studios), there was no emphasis placed on students acquiring expensive uniforms or other equipment. Students could come wearing what they had on, or bring whatever loose-fitting clothing that they had available. Little if any equipment was needed during the beginning stages of the Young Adult Martial Arts Program, as students concentrated primarily on learning the fundamental hand and leg movements and their uses, as well as the conditioning behind the techniques.

In January of 1975, older teenagers who either had had some previous experience in Tae Kwon Do or Kajukenbo (a hybird system that was developed in Hawaii), began enrolling in the program. During this same period, Jim Hoffman, a freelance writer with *Black Belt* magazine, did a feature story (which was released in its August, 1975, edition) on the Oakland Community School, covering its model work in education, and the martial arts classes/program that was drawing favorable attention from local youth and some unfavorable attention from local martial arts schools and clubs.

One significant point that drew the immediate disfavor and scrutiny from Bay Area schools was the break from traditonal uniforms, teaching methods, and the old master-student (servant) relationship that exists in tradition-bound schools. Another factor that irritated traditional schools was that the instructor for the program, now called the All Open Martial Arts Program, had not reached the black belt level, which according to "martial arts myth" is the point where one can be "qualified" to teach/instruct.

Two guiding principles behind the All Open Martial Arts Program are that the creating individual is more important than any established style or system, and that the student should "set no limit as a limit, and use no way as a way." These ideas have served to develop a martial arts program and students who have attained regional and national attention, as well as the grudging respect of practically every martial arts school in California.

BELT-RANKING SYSTEM

Students of the OCLC All Open Martial Arts Program understand that the belt ranking system is really only a general and arbitrary grading scale and not the final indication of a person's ability or understanding. With that in mind, the students participate in tournaments not only in their age/belt divisions but often compete two or three belt divisions above them.

Not only have students excelled on the tournament circuit, but have done outstanding demonstrations and exhibitions, which in many instances were "firsts" for a nonfederation, non-association martial arts program.

In September, 1975, OCLC Martial Arts students did a two-day performance at Mosswood Park for the Black Expo Event. In October, 1975, many of those same students returned at the request of the U.S.-China Friendship Committee to perform in commemoration of the liberation of the People's Republic of China.

During January, 1976, students pulled together and sponsored the first Friendship Tournament that brought together Bay Area schools and students for an all day spectacle of katask, free-fighting, demonstrations, health screens and dinner.

As of the spring and summer of 1976, the program is focusing on developing a fighting discipline among the students. Primarily students develop the combat skills and lend their creativity for furthering their individual growth.

STREAMLINED CLASSES

Classes have become streamlined so that children, youth and adults can study together in beginning sessions with their physical peers and not feel left behind or overlooked.

In the All Open Martial Arts Program students have developed their skills and minds and are stone serious when they say, "We're second to none, and the first to fire."☐



BPINS photos

OCLC Martial Arts students perform exercises (left), while (center) one student breaks board with his bare hand. GISELLE PHEANIOUS (left, right photo) and FRED MOREHEAD proudly display trophies won at tournament.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal insitutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution." —Huey P. Newton



S.A.F.E. PROGRAM

PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL CLINICS

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION
Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM
(Being Implemented)
Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM
(Being Implemented)
Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM
Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM
Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM
Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM
Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.



OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM
Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM
Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM
Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS
Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Oakland Community School.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental faculties at the earliest ages.



PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL CLINIC

BPINS photos

FREE HUEY!



"...Well the oppressors are trying to keep me down; trying to drive me underground. And they think that they have got the battle won; I say forgive them Lord they know not what they've done..."

Support the Black Panther Party lawsuit against the FBI. Contact the Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton P.O. Box 297, Oakland, California 94604 or call (415) 638-0195